

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

THERE can be little doubt that the year which is just beginning will be one of the most momentous in the history of the human race. The economic strain is being felt by every country in the world—felt by some countries almost to the breaking-point, and felt by every class within every country, rich and poor alike. Issues of transcendent importance will be raised by the Disarmament Conference, and it may well be that on their decision will depend the relative happiness or misery of us all, and the fate of millions of human beings for several decades to come.

IN view of all that the year may bring forth, it becomes us all to begin it well; and how better can we begin it than with God? In that book of inexhaustible suggestiveness which, though very old, is ever new, we read that 'Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him till the rising of the dawn.' 'Such a struggle in the dawn is the prophecy of a great and triumphant day.'

WE, too, like Jacob, have reached a very solemn hour; like him, we are left alone in the darkness, with the dawn about to break. What manner of day shall it be? That will largely depend on what we do with the hour before the dawn. Will that hour find us in a mood of spiritual indolence, indifference, or scepticism? or will it find us vigilant and prayerful, struggling with ourselves and with God, determined to win from Him whatever blessing He is ready to bestow upon us?

TO each and all the year will bring temptation, discipline, and opportunity; it will test sincerity and strain faith. Can we look without flinching on the trials that some of its days may hurl against us as individuals and as a nation? Every day, with its often unwelcome tasks and unheeded blessings, its sometimes dispiriting news and heavy crosses, will bring us face to face with God. Shall we see Him? Shall we be glad to look upon Him if we see Him?

OR shall we start back in terror or in anger at the awful Presence which in failure or in sorrow may cross our path? We may be sure that, into whatever experience we wander, He will be there before us; and we shall only face Him with quietness and confidence if we have wrestled with Him, with no less than a terrible earnestness, at the rising of the dawn.

THE man who sees God in the dawn is likely to see Him still more clearly in the noonday; yea, and at eventide there will be light. The peace that is won in the lonely struggle with the unseen Stranger will possess the soul in the din and strife of the day. That day will be great into which God enters at the dawn; and the man who is not afraid to wrestle with his God in the grey and lonely morning will not be afraid of any possible strife into which he may be drawn by the later hazards of the day. In them he will not lose his soul, nor need he lose his peace.

He is indeed a bold man who would wrestle with God, and he must be in deadly earnest. Yet in this strange struggle man may conquer and wrest a blessing even from Almighty God. How, then, shall he fear what the year may bring forth who, in its dawning, has striven with God and prevailed?

In the solemn mood which steals over every serious man at the opening of the year, God is struggling with Him. Let him not decline the struggle. Let him face it humbly, yet boldly; for on the issue thereof his year, his soul, depends. Or can it be that our hearts are so full of the world, of its pleasure and its cares, and so dull and irresponsible to heavenly solicitations that we have not yet felt that powerful, tender, unseen Presence at the breaking of the day?

For surely with us, too, a man has been wrestling, even the man Christ Jesus. How long He will yet wrestle we do not know. Our day may be very short. Even if it be long, when the sun is in the heavens and the familiar task has begun again, He may go away. He has been wrestling with our pessimism and seeking to rebuke it with His vision of a Father who wishes all His children well, and to whom the least among us is of more value than many sparrows, potentially of more value than the whole world. He has been wrestling with our worldliness, and, half sternly, half sadly, reminding us, who vex ourselves with the cares of the morrow, that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth.

He has been wrestling with our pride, and seeking to touch our haughty hearts by the sight of Himself—in whom and through whom and to whom are all things—girt with a towel and washing His disciples' feet, and hanging at the end upon a Cross 'for us men and for our salvation.' He has been wrestling with our insincerity, opening our eyes to the fact that, for all our fair profession, we may be nothing but foul platters and whited sepulchres. He has been wrestling with our shallow faith which will not grandly trust God for the morrow, reminding us that our Heavenly Father knoweth that we have need of all these things.

He has been wrestling with our procrastination which will not believe in the divineness of to-day, and seeking to rouse our slumbering energies by the prospect of a day when the door may be shut. He has been wrestling with our doubts of a land beyond the veil, and has come back to assure us with His 'Peace be unto you.'

Shall so gracious a Spirit wrestle with us, and shall we remain unbled? He has promised to be with us all the days. Let us not say, 'Let me go, for the day breaketh.' Let us rather say, 'I will not let Thee go unless Thou bless me.' For not in anger but in love does He wrestle with us. His nature and His name is love. He wrestles that He may save. For individuals, for the Church, for the nations of the world, how happy a year might this be, which opens with so much to fill our hearts with perplexity and fear, if we would only wrestle with Him, or let Him wrestle with us at the rising of its dawn.

Professor Norman Kemp SMITH is a distinguished teacher of philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and a well-known expositor of Kant. Last July he delivered the Annual Philosophical Lecture before the British Academy. His theme was, *Is Divine Existence Credible?* Mr. Humphrey Milford has issued the lecture in reprint (1s. 6d. net).

Here is the answer which the lecturer gives to his question: 'Divine Existence is more than merely credible: it is immediately experienced; and is experienced in increasing degree in proportion as the individual, under the discipline and through the way of life prescribed by religion in this or that of its great traditional forms, is enabled to supplement his initial experiences by others of a more definite character. And in Divine Existence, as thus revealed, the non-creatureliness, that is, the otherness, of God is fundamental, as that under assumption of which alone any further specific assertions can be made.'

It is an answer which the religious mind will endorse. But the theist will want to understand its implications. In particular, he will want to know

its relationship to the arguments for theism. Let it be said, then, that Dr. Kemp SMITH, like Dr. Tennant, is of opinion that belief in the existence of God cannot be justified either from *a priori* premises or from purely ethical data. That leaves two other methods of justifying belief in the existence of God : by way of direct experience of the Divine, and by some form of the design-argument. Dr. Tennant rejects the first method, and adopts the second. Dr. Kemp SMITH reverses this position.

What are his objections to the design-argument ? His fundamental objection is its anthropomorphic flavour. He holds that we cannot reach the Divine by way of the *analogia hominis*, or through any other creaturely analogy. We have no doubt that this is maintained in full view of the recent efforts of philosophers of religion, including his own predecessor at Edinburgh, Dr. Pringle-Pattison, to purge the concept of design or purpose of its human limitations in applying it to the interpretation of the universe.

In proceeding to his thesis, Dr. Kemp SMITH says that, while Nature produces an impression which is overwhelming, the impression is misinterpreted in the theistic argument to or from design. Either we have no right to claim belief in the existence of God, or else we must allow that we experience the Divine in a direct and immediate manner. That we so experience the Divine is the main point of the lecture. Through the cosmic setting of our human life, through the 'inexhaustibly varied, infinitely vast, and profoundly mysterious' natural order, man first gains his sense of God as the 'other,' the 'non-creaturely,' which God fundamentally is ; and in the course of the history of religion the sense of God is enlarged and purified, in the effort to define what the immediate experiences reveal.

The affinity of this standpoint to Professor Otto's is very marked. For the religious mind it is impossible, says the author of the concept of the Numinous, to think of God as a thing with other things. He is 'wholly other.' And it is no sufficient explanation to say that He is the original thing,

the original spirit, the original person ; even so He would remain a thing amongst things, a link—albeit the first link—in the chain. The 'wholly other' discards the category of cause, as likewise also the category of substance, and all other categories of the reason.

Under the title of *The Ground of Faith and the Chaos of Thought* (Nisbet ; 5s. net), Canon O. C. QUICK has issued a volume containing four profoundly thoughtful lectures in which he works out a closely reasoned defence of the Christian faith.

His aim is to examine the bearing of some characteristic tendencies in modern thought upon the fundamental principles of Christian belief, and he begins by breaking a lance with the mathematical philosophers whose writings are so widely read to-day. They must make up their minds whether plain words or mathematical symbols are the best medium for expressing ultimate truth about the universe. If they choose the latter they must show us how it is possible to represent beauty and goodness at all by mathematical symbols. But, if they choose the former, then it is not legitimate for them to carry us so far in words and suddenly at some point to break away into unintelligible symbols on the plea that these alone can express the whole truth. 'In contending that there must be a genuine truth about the real world which can be expressed in terms intelligible to us, we are fighting not only for our own intellectual lives, but also for a metaphysical principle which is implicit in Catholic Christianity.'

The chaos of modern thought is obvious. It has led to a 'rejection not only of the authority of religion but of all central unifying authority over human thought and conduct.' It is based on a subconscious despair of reaching any real truth about the world and man's place in it. Our vaunted tolerance and freedom of thought simply amount to a general agreement not to face ultimate questions, and, in comparison with the old-fashioned materialistic atheism, this is a much more radical scepticism and a much deadlier enemy of truth.

What grounds of faith can we offer which will appeal to the minds of our time? Canon QUICK gives a very fresh restatement of some of the historic arguments for belief in God: the cosmological, which presents God as the author and source of all being, the axiological, which presents Him as the ground and substantiator of values, and the empirical, which treats of God as the object of religious experience. In this connexion he offers some acute criticisms of Jeans and Whitehead on the one hand, and of Otto and Barth on the other, and he points to the crucial difficulty of harmonizing in our thought the God of things as they are with the God of things as they ought to be.

But it is with the unique revelation of God in Christ that we have chiefly to do. 'There is no reason why an emphasis on the universal self-revelation of God in the reason and conscience of mankind should make us refuse the possibility of special and even paradoxical acts of Divine self-revelation breaking in, as it were, from outside upon the normal tenor of man's rational and ethical ideas. . . . Insist as strongly as you will that reason and conscience must test and estimate the value of all new data presented to them, and that we ought always to be guided by the most impartial verdict they enable us to give; still, if we believe at all in a living transcendent God who acts upon the world in such a way as to provide new facts for consideration, we cannot argue that reason and conscience may not find their judgments as to what is true and right transformed by really fresh data, which may come into the world at particular times and places through the sole initiative of God Himself.'

Abstractly considered, this may be very true. But the difficulty is to prove that it has actually happened. What amounts to a special revelation, and by what signs is it to be recognized? How, for instance, are we to distinguish between a special self-revelation of God and a work of human genius, seeing that we acknowledge genius as the gift and work of God?

In looking for an answer we begin by observing

that there are two types of argument for belief, which are distinct and in some sense opposite. On the one hand we may say, 'This belief is true because its content fits in well with other things known to be true, because it explains other things, throws light upon them.' But on the other hand we may say, 'This belief is true, because the fact of its existence is so odd and singular, fits in so little with other things, that to suppose the belief true is the only way of accounting for its existence.' When these two lines of argument converge they become very powerful, and may in certain cases irresistibly impel to belief in a special divine revelation. An obvious case is the ethical theism of the Hebrew prophets. 'When the general value and illuminating quality of the prophetic message in relation to man's spiritual life is taken in conjunction with the glaring contrast which its content makes with the almost barbarous conditions of the time and the primitive crudity of the ideas which were the normal furniture of the prophetic mind, it is difficult to be satisfied with the conclusion that in Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah we witness simply what naturally follows the emergence of outstanding genius in the spiritual development of man.'

This contrast and convergence are characteristic of all the Biblical record, but they are seen 'at its culminating and critical point in the stupendous facts on which the doctrine of the Incarnation was based, above all in the scandal of the Cross.' It may be possible to point out resemblances to Christ's ethical theism in the current teaching of His day, but the uniqueness lies in the whole sum and substance of His doctrine, in the combination of faith in God's love with acceptance of the law that the Son of Man must suffer, and that His disciples must take up the Cross to follow Him, and that such renunciation leads, not to an escape from an evil world, but to a glorious triumph over it. 'It is *He* who, coming into the conditions of Palestinian life in the first century, remains even in His acceptance of those conditions still so isolated and so far above them that we feel obliged to affirm that here is, not something, but some one, who has descended from above.' At the same time all this

is confirmed from the other side by the strange power it has of explaining man's experiences and of throwing light far and wide over the problems of human life. 'And here again it is Christ Himself, not merely some idea or teaching of Christ, that is the illuminator—it is the course of His whole life and message before death, and after death, as the New Testament records it, which enables St. John to call Him the light of men, and the modern Christian to see in that light truths of which the apostles never dreamed.'

It is on such foundations as these that the Christian faith rests, and it is for such reasons as these that the Church has been led to make such tremendous affirmations about Christ's person and significance. Browning is bold enough to say:

The acknowledgment of God in Christ
Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
All questions in the earth and out of it.

What is the central problem of every spiritual metaphysic? Is it not this, 'How can the cause of what is be one with the ground of what ought to be'? What conception of God will include and harmonize both? 'In the significance of the Cross we begin to see light. It suggests that the full perfection of what ought to be is realizable only through the free spending and surrender of all that is in this world best and highest. Creation from the beginning leads up to a Cross.' And the Cross through Christ's acceptance of it is 'seen to symbolise the way in which God's love is ever at work to lift natural life, developing itself in time and space, into the eternity of heaven at the last.'

In a recent volume, *Religion in Higher Education*, there is a chapter on 'Recent Changes in Physical Science and their Effect on Religious Thought,' written by Mr. W. C. D. DAMPIER-WHETHAM of Cambridge University, which gives an account of the progress, or at least the change, in scientific views from the Newtonian physics of 1890 to the new outlook in 1930. There is a good deal in the exposition that ordinary readers will find a little difficult to grasp clearly. But the two pictures, of

science in 1890 and science in 1930, as the writer asks us to look on *this* picture and on *that*, are perfectly outlined, and not only interesting but extremely helpful to faith.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the Newtonian synthesis (the first great synthesis in physical science) held the field. His theory gave only a mathematical solution of the problem of reality, and Newton still retained God in his explanation of the universe. But others, less clear-sighted, on the basis of his mathematical formula concluded that matter and force were everything. The real world was that revealed by the senses. And man came under this generalization. 'It would be very singular,' wrote Voltaire, 'that all nature, all the planets, should obey eternal laws, and that there should be a little animal, five feet high, who, in contempt of these laws, could act as he pleased, solely according to his caprice.' Nineteenth-century science appeared to confirm these ideas.

The picture of the physical universe thus in accordance with the Newtonian formula was that of a closed system, with definite, unalterable amounts of matter and energy, the latter slowly tending to change into less available forms, until the great machine finally runs down and stops. For the most part men held the common-sense view that science dealt with realities, so that the real world was that revealed by physics, a world of matter and motion, ruled in deterministic causation by ruthless and inhuman 'laws of nature.' Idealistic philosophy and religion, traditional or liberal, could but fight a series of losing battles with materialistic determinism. And this view of reality was confirmed by the discoveries of Lyall and Darwin.

Far different is the outlook to-day. The new epoch began with the discovery of X-rays by Röntgen in 1895. Gradually, through the work of J. J. Thomson, Becquerel, Rutherford, and others, an electric theory of matter was built up. And, when Einstein's sensational work established the truth of relativity, it was seen that the older idea of matter, as something persistent in time and

extended in space, ceased to hold good, for neither time nor space has independent existence! The old, hard, massy atoms, already resolved into electricity, have further passed into wave-groups in hypothetical space-time. A principle of uncertainty, of indeterminism, has been introduced into science, and this destroys the basis of mechanical determinism in physical science, so that, if such a theory (determinism) is to be held in philosophy, it cannot for the future rest on scientific evidence.

Look then on this picture and on that, on science in 1890 and science in 1930. The typical attitude of mind in 1890 accepted scientific, and with it philosophical, determinism. Immutable laws bound nature and man in an iron chain of cause and effect. Reality consisted solely of matter in motion, and matter was made either of solid lumps of stuff or vortex rings or centres of strain in a material ether. Thought, consciousness, emotion, were looked on as a by-product of atomic processes. Man was a machine, and God (if God there were) had started the universe, and left it to be driven blindly forward by mechanical laws and the relentless pressure of organic evolution.

The picture now is different. Matter can only be described in mathematical terms. The ultimate

cause of things cannot be mechanical, and some day we shall have to accept uninterpreted mathematical equations as the last word of science. Science itself is now recognized as a process of abstraction. It reveals one aspect of reality, but others are revealed by ethics, art, philosophy, and by that apprehension of a sacred mystery which constitutes the basis of religion. To us, after an era of materialism, the physical universe has ceased to be mechanical, or even physical, and has become essentially mathematical. It is not the machine made of solid, concrete atoms pictured by our fathers, and can only be represented to our generation by abstract mathematical equations. Science can criticise and even destroy false ideas in philosophy and in the superstructure of some types of religion. It has made incredible both the fantastic beliefs of the fundamentalist and the crude and shallow creed of the materialist. But it is not for science to say what should be put in their place. Science can clear the ground and warn us where quagmires or shifting sands make it unsafe to build. Elsewhere it leaves the human mind free to erect new temples or to worship in the old. What is reality? Science cannot say. But science leaves it open to us to say that it is a thought in the mind of a supreme Mathematician, who is also a supreme Artist, and a Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness.

National Contributions to Biblical Science.

XV. The Contribution of Great Britain to Church History.

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I.

IN the widest sense the literature of the history of the Church includes a great deal which the limits of this article must exclude, such as works on Jesus and St. Paul, the history of the Canon and the interpretation of Scripture, patristics, martyrology and hagiography, hymnology, Church music and architecture. In Church Histories such matters are sometimes handled, but they are generally, and

rightly, regarded as either constituting special studies by themselves, or more fitly coming under another heading than Church History. By Church History is here meant an account of the rise and progress and development of organized Christianity, its internal and external conflicts, its expansion and influence in the world.

It has to be realized that the boundaries between

the various departments of a theological curriculum are not just straight lines. Between New Testament study and the history of the earliest Church in particular there is much common ground which each may claim for its own purposes, and difference of opinion may exist as to the propriety of including in or excluding from such an article as this certain works which both disciplines may legitimately claim.

Even when we take Church History in the restricted sense, the mass of relevant literature produced in Great Britain is of very great dimensions, and large excisions must be made. Our island has been unhappily fecund in ecclesiastical polemics, and we must ignore that branch of literature. In the vast mass of controversial pamphlets there are many of considerable historical interest and even importance, but such are to be reckoned as outside the historian's materials, and our concern is with his finished work.

Very rich and valuable is our biographical literature. According to some, history may best be studied in biographies. Get a consecutive series of biographies and you have the history of a nation or a Church. Whatever truth there may be in that view—and obviously it has some truth—we must disregard biography, except when a biography is a main source of knowledge, or is so meritorious as to constitute in effect one of the best histories of a period.

Again, numerous works are excluded because they are valueless. I do not mean works that have lost their value by reason of advance of knowledge, but such as had no intrinsic merit at any time. They were based on no original research, they revealed no original judgment. They were never anything but more or less skilful compilations from and paraphrases of previous works. The worst result of this activity was, that as repetition and paraphrase went on, some things which the remote original had put forth as a suggestion were stated as categorical facts.

Lastly, we must exclude a large number of works, some of them of great merit, because their scope is too limited. Histories of individual Congregations, Presbyteries, Cathedrals, and so on, abound, and many are works of scholarship; but we must regard them as materials for Church History rather than Church History itself.

The writing of Church History in Britain followed the same sort of development as it exhibits elsewhere. It is as true here as elsewhere that the Reformation gave a mighty impulse to historical study and that the science of history was perfected in the course of the nineteenth century. In historical study of the Church we have not been

markedly pioneers: neither have we been mere followers of a Continental lead. We have had impulses of our own to stimulate historical study and to seek after better canons of procedure in writing history. In England the Tractarian Movement, which appealed to history and produced a too considerable mass of very bad historical writing, yet by those two very features compelled scientific inquiry and stimulated real scholarship. In Scotland the denominational strife, while it put forth a regrettable amount of very prejudiced polemic calling itself history, did advance real historical study in its search for a foundation of unimpeachable reliability, so far at least as facts were concerned.

Among us as elsewhere scientific history of the Church incurred a measure of suspicion, and the scientific historian ran risk of being dubbed a rationalist, because of a deep-seated though indeterminate conviction that Church History, especially the history of the early Church, is somehow different from ordinary history. To pry too closely into the procedure of Councils and Synods; to suggest that the events of Church History are largely explainable as due to the reactions of very human personalities to the various situations with which they were confronted—this savoured of irreverence and probably of irreligion. So Church History was for long written in a pietistic rather than a scientific spirit. The tendency was simply to explain, when any explanation was deemed necessary, in terms of God and Satan; which led to an utterly incredible view of the human actors as either almost perfectly wise and good, or almost unrelievedly knaves or fools. We now proceed to adduce the outstanding items of our national contribution to Church History.

THE WHOLE CHURCH.

We can show no individual writer who has produced a history of the whole Church on the encyclopædic scale exhibited by scholars such as Mosheim, Kurtz, Moeller, or Schaff. We have, however, several short summaries of considerable merit. Smith's *Student's Manual of Ecclesiastical History* in two volumes (1878-85) does not come down later than the Reformation. It is, as the title suggests, essentially a cram-book, accurate but not too attractive. Worthy not only of mention but of almost unqualified praise are *A Short History of our Religion*, by D. C. Somervell (1922), and *A Short History of the Christian Church*, by C. P. S. Clarke (1929). The popularity of the former is attested by the fact that a second edition was called

for within eleven months. It is an amazing achievement, tracing the broad and most important features of the development of religion from Moses to the present day. Of course the treatment can only be slight, but the more one studies it the stronger grows the impression of clear insight and safe guidance. The latter confines itself to the Christian Church. It is more detailed and finds a surprising amount of space for illustration by quotation from important sources. Either of those will serve admirably the requirement of the general reader who desires an illuminating view of the main course of Church History, or the student as a preliminary to the more detailed study of particular periods such as the curriculum in most Colleges involves.

Then we have two series which, with volumes by different writers, aim at covering most if not all of the field. 'Epochs of Church History,' ed. Bp. Creighton (1886-89), and 'The Church Universal,' ed. W. H. Hutton, in the next decade, both contain scholarly items by competent writers. The latter series is written with strong Anglican predilections, and both suffer from the space limits imposed on the contributors. The various items of both series will serve admirably as introduction to, or summary of, detailed study of the period in question.

Of larger works which cover a considerable period may be mentioned the following: Canon Robertson's *History of the Christian Church* (1854-66). This history in eight volumes deals with the period 64-1517. It was fully abreast of contemporary study, is itself a scholarly work, and has the merit of high literary quality. Best of all is the meritorious work of Archdeacon C. A. Hardwick, *History of the Christian Church* (1853-56), completed by A. Cheetham (1894, 1908). Hardwick wrote two volumes on the Middle Ages and the Reformation. Cheetham provided the History during the first six centuries and since the Reformation. While corrections require to be made in light of increased knowledge, those four volumes are a worthy monument of British learning. They are sufficiently detailed for all ordinary purposes; they reveal deep understanding of the various problems; they are scrupulously fair, and in general their judgments are conspicuously satisfying. We have no pride in recording how the pietistic but valueless *History of the Church of Christ*, by J. Milner (1794-1812), held its popular renown as a 'standard' work for a century, and seems still to be read.

THE EARLY CHURCH.

The history of no period has undergone such profound change in treatment as that of the early

Church. So great and so vital is the change that it may be said that few books dealing with any topic in this period are of much value if they are more than fifty years old. A great interest has been evinced in that period for obvious reasons. All the denominations look back to the earliest age of our religion not only because beginnings have an interest all their own, but because it is felt that in this case the beginnings are in some sense normative. Historical study of the early Church has been stimulated from three sources. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, with all its manifest deficiencies in the way of appreciation of Christianity, had the merit at least of showing that its spread and victory constituted genuine historical problems which must be dealt with like any other, and that heresies and schisms were not adequately explained as due to the machinations of Satan working through wicked men. Then there was the extraneous influence of German scholarship, which is first clearly visible in Milman. The Tübingen hypothesis of Petrinism versus Paulinism had no direct effect in our country save to call forth annihilating criticism from Lightfoot and others. Yet, mistaken as Baur was in his peculiar view, he gave currency to a new view of early Church history which has proved most fruitful, that the Catholic Church did emerge as the fruit of conflict. Such movements as Gnosticism or Montanism were viewed in a new light, no longer as mere disturbances soon overcome, but as important factors. The German scholar who was most influential in giving us a new orientation in early Christian history was Adolf Harnack. The third influence was the Oxford Movement. For its ecclesiastical views it appealed to the early Church, and spoke very beautifully of the authority of 'the undivided Church.' This compelled penetrating study of what the undivided Church really exhibited, and this led to the discovery that 'the undivided Church' was largely a pious imagination. Part has also been played by the recovery of some long-lost ancient books such as the *Didache*, the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia*, and the Nestorian *Bazaar of Heracleides*.

Such has been the change in this field of historical study that it is not worth the space to deal with the older books, which not only do not solve satisfactorily the problems of early Church History, but fail to realize that problems exist.

Of Histories of the period mention may be made of three. R. Rainy's *Ancient Catholic Church* (1902) deserved the high praise which reviewers bestowed on it when it appeared. It deals with the period 98-451. It is marked by genuine

insight into the problems of the period. It is accurate in statement of facts and is the product of much research. Its defect is its slovenly literary style, and though it is full of information, the narrative limps. In my own opinion the best book we have produced on this age is Gwatkin's *Early Church History to 313*, in two volumes (1909). It has its faults. It is not always detailed enough. Often one wishes that more documentation were given. One does not in every instance agree with the judgments expressed. Still, it does give us an understanding of what problems confronted the Church, and how, above all the sects, there arose towering the Catholic Church. We may wish there were more trees, but we are made to see the wood and the paths through. Lastly, it possesses what Rainy's work so distressingly lacks, a limpid style, and in narrative a sense of the dramatic. We learn from Gwatkin that the history of the Church can be made intelligible only in light of knowledge of the kind of world in which it finds itself. The third is *A History of the Church to A.D. 461*, by B. J. Kidd (1922). It is a very learned work in three volumes, the last of which covers a field not entered by Gwatkin, and the whole is very fully documented. It does not supersede but supplements Gwatkin's work.

In all recent writing on the early age of Christianity the relation of Christians to their environment is recognized as a question which must be faced and is very difficult to answer. The old view represented in, e.g., Farrar's *Early Days of Christianity* (1882), according to which the environment was painted in unrelieved colours of gloom and Christianity owing nothing to it save antagonism, is no longer held. There has been a tendency to go to the opposite extreme, as in J. A. Farrar's *Paganism and Christianity* (1891), the main thesis of which seems to be that the Church had nothing to teach the pagan world that was both new and true, or in A. Weigall's *Paganism in our Christianity*, which finds 'a phantom crowd of savage and blood-stained old gods who have come into the Church.' This is hysteria, not history. A saner view is found in such a work as T. Wilson's *St. Paul and Paganism* (1927), in which the question of pagan influence on Christianity is very frankly raised, and the difficulty of a satisfactory answer as clearly acknowledged.

The striking parallel between certain features of Christianity and of the Mystery Religions is well set forth in such books as W. W. Fowler's *Religious Experience of the Roman People* (1911), Glover's *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, or Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*.

One wishes that some writers on the subject would seriously consider Orr's view that paganism may have been the borrower not the lender.

Another thing in the experience of the early Church now felt to be a problem requiring investigation, is the persecution by Roman officials. The old view was very simple: persecution was due to the wickedness of wicked Emperors. J. A. F. Gregg, in *The Decian Persecution* (1898), brought out more clearly than any one had previously done what must have disturbed many nurtured in the simple belief that the bad rulers persecuted, that on the contrary it was, generally speaking, the strong good Emperors who persecuted, while the weak and worthless Cæsars were remarkably tolerant. The story of the persecutions has been often told, and told eloquently, in our language. The investigation of the rationale of Roman persecution is very recent, and we need adduce no work preceding Sir W. M. Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire* (1893). The problem is, Why did the enlightened Roman State, which tolerated so many religions, persecute Christians? It is a difficult question; how difficult we may gauge from the fact that Christian writers who lived under the persecution seem themselves to be puzzled by it. Ramsay finds a solution in the circumstance that Christianity was in conflict with Roman religious Law. Rome tolerated only *religiones licitæ*, and Christianity had neither asked nor received official sanction as a licit religion. As soon as the State realized that Christians were not Jews, Christians were in the eyes of the Law guilty of a crime against the State, the punishment of which was death. We cannot here set forth Ramsay's complete view, which rests on his vast knowledge of Roman Law and legal procedure. His views in some important particulars were criticised by Professor Merrill in *Essays in Christian History* (1924). On some points he makes out his case, one important point being that in the first two centuries Roman headquarters were not, and did not need to be, so far involved in a policy of persecution as Ramsay suggests. Another valuable study is E. G. Hardy's *Christianity and the Roman Government: A Study in Imperial Administration* (1894). An altogether competent and delightful book is Workman's *Persecution in the Early Church* (1906).

On Gnosticism, C. W. King's *The Gnostics and their Remains* (1887), scholarly as it is, cannot be said to have superseded Mansel's *Gnostic Heresies* (1875). Since those were written a good deal of fresh material has become available, but treatment of it lies so far in Dictionaries and Encyclopædias.

We have produced no very recent work on the

Age of the great Councils—a surprising thing in view of the Anglican appeal to antiquity. Bright's *History of the Church from the Edict of Milan*, 313, to the Council of Chalcedon, 451, published in 1860, with a second edition in 1888, is a reliable work by a well-equipped and thoroughly competent scholar. Still valuable, too, is Stanley's *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church* (1862), in which he gives large place to the Council of Nicæa, on the ground that no English writer down to his time had dealt with it. Two excellent recent books come dubiously into our province—Canon Raven's *Apollinarianism*, and F. J. Badcock's *History of the Creeds* (1930).

THE MIDDLE AGES.

Throughout the Middle Ages civil and ecclesiastical history were so inextricably blended that a general history of the period is bound to embrace a history of the Church. Thus Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* is to a great extent an ecclesiastical history. First published as long ago as 1864, it still remains a standard work which no student of the period may neglect. Still worth reading, too, are Trench's *Lectures on Mediæval Church History* (1877), and Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, which appeared in nine volumes in 1854-55. Milman is of special interest because, as already mentioned, he is the first British historian to reveal clearly the influence of German scholarship. He expressly in this work attests his debt to Mosheim. In his *History of the Jews* the influence of Niebuhr was manifest, and occasioned alarm. The work before us shows the finest type of historical writing, scholarly and yet easily read. Of recent work we must mention Miss Deansesly's *History of the Mediæval Church* (1925), which is fitted to prove an admirable introduction to two monumental works on this period. The one is the Cambridge Mediæval History (1911-29). Of this great work, comprising six large volumes, we can give here no detailed account. Suffice it to say that no pains have been spared to make the work complete and authoritative. The other is a set of three volumes by A. C. Flick—*The Rise of the Mediæval Church* (1909), and two on *The Decline of the Mediæval Church* (1930). The whole constitutes a great achievement, outstanding in these days of monographs and large-brush painting.

The Middle Ages saw the rise of two great institutions—the Papacy, as the Papacy is understood, and Monasticism—and on each we have produced works of merit. *The Impartial History of the Popes of Rome*, written by A. Bower in ten volumes (1750-66), is scarcely accessible now, but was considered

valuable enough at the time to merit what few English historical works have received, translation into German. Bishop Creighton's six volumes on the *History of the Papacy during the Reformation*, an unhappy title subsequently altered to *History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* (1882-94), covers the period indicated, 1378-1527, and is a very learned and impartial work. On the earlier period we have little except Beet's admirable *Rise of the Papacy* (1910), which covers only the period 385-461. A work in several volumes, by the Roman Catholic writer, H. K. Mann, *Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, deals with the period 590-1417. It reveals much patient, even laborious, research, but is unfortunately disfigured, if not disgraced, by its partisan spirit.

As to Monasticism we have many books on individual Orders and individual leaders which we must pass over, confining our view to works that deal with monasticism on a larger scale. On monastic origins we have Canon I. G. Smith's *Rise of Christian Monasticism* (1891), which deals with the growth of Brotherhoods, monastic institutions and usages, and in its latter portion gives sketches of the lives of some famous leaders. It is all carefully documented, but there is too little discrimination among the authorities cited. An admirable piece of work is to be found in T. W. Allies's *Formation of Christendom*, 1869-96. Of this fair-minded and scholarly undertaking Roman Catholics speak with an enthusiasm which a Protestant may allow to be justified. Specially valuable is vol. viii. on *The Monastic Life*. It traces the influence of the primitive Christian ideal of *vita communis* as an originative factor in the development of monasticism, and gives a reliable history of the movement down to the time of Charlemagne. W. H. Mackean's *Christian Monasticism in Egypt* (1920) is rather slight in treatment, but forms a reliable introduction. The British *magnum opus* on Monasticism is in course of appearing—*Five Centuries of Religion*, by G. G. Coulton, in three volumes, of which the first, *St. Bernard and his Predecessors and Successors, 1000-1200 A.D.*, was published in 1923; the second, *The Friars and the Deadweight of Tradition, 1200-1400*, in 1927; while the third, which is to deal with the reforming efforts of the fifteenth century, their failure, and the catastrophe of the sixteenth century, has yet to be issued. Of a work on so large a scale and not yet completed it is impossible to speak without diffidence, and it is obvious that valuable criticism or appreciation of such a work could only come from one whose study and knowledge of the subject at least approaches that of the author in

extent. Of such there can be very few; it would be hazardous to name any. For one fact that comes as a revelation is the enormous mass of material that exists which deserves to be studied. When we look at the bibliographies here supplied, and read that the author has in his possession great stores of material in addition, we can only gasp, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' We may merely express our admiration, even our awe, of such scholarship, and our conviction that we have here a store of facts on Monasticism to which we know nothing comparable in any language.

On the expansion of Christianity during the period, we have Canon Robinson's *Conversion of Europe* (1917). In this field Canon Robinson was a pioneer and has had no worthy successor, although of course the subject is dealt with in the general Church Histories. This book is a thoroughly reliable, carefully documented work of great value.

THE REFORMATION AND AFTER.

In this department, too, we have produced several works of first-rate worth. Four volumes of the Cambridge Modern History deal respectively with *The Renaissance* (1902), *The Reformation* (1907), *The Wars of Religion* (1904), and *The Thirty Years War* (1906). Two small books, F. Seebohm's *Era of the Protestant Revolution* (1874) and J. P. Whitney's *Reformation, 1503-1648* (1907), are concise and satisfactory introductions to more elaborate studies. Of larger works, Workman's *Dawn of the Reformation*, in two small volumes (1902), is popular yet evidencing sound knowledge and judgment. J. A. Wylie's *History of Protestantism*, in three volumes (1875-81), is a popular work of merit for the time at which it was written. J. A. Babington's *Reformation: A Religious and Historical Sketch* (1901) is really a very able book, but has not received the attention it deserves, largely, no doubt, on account of the author's failure to give any reference to the authorities he is following.

The two really great works on the Reformation are T. M. Lindsay's *History of the Reformation*, in two volumes (1906-7), and J. Mackinnon's *Luther and the Reformation*, in four volumes (1925-30). Each work is fully abreast of the knowledge possible in its time. Neither will suffer from comparison with the best work of Continental scholars. Both authors not only familiarized themselves with all the current literature on the subject that mattered, they subjected the authorities to strict scrutiny, went to the original sources of information, and in Germany spent much time over Medieval documents.

In no sense are their works a mere reproduction in the English language of the fruits of foreign historical research. Full account is taken of that, but both writers give the results of their own independent research.

Lindsay covers a wider field, Mackinnon is much more detailed in the narrower field to which he devotes so much more space. Since Lindsay's time much work has been done, and, as might be expected, some points in Lindsay require amendment. It is now generally agreed that the thunder-storm incident deserves more notice as a factor in inducing Luther to flee to the monastic life than Lindsay, who almost completely ignores it, would allow; that Luther's conflict of soul was of longer duration; and that Luther's marriage, as to which Lindsay is curiously silent, had more than domestic consequences. Yet the surprising thing is not that Lindsay should require amendment, but that so much of his work should still be found valid after the microscopic investigation of Luther's life and the *post-mortem* psycho-analysis to which he has been subjected since Lindsay wrote. Very masterly is Lindsay's survey of conditions preceding the Reformation, and of the various factors which contributed to the outburst. It is safe to prophesy that Mackinnon's will be for a long time the standard work in the English language, and that is all we need say of it.

On the period since the Reformation, apart from Cheetham's volume, to which reference has been made, there is nothing of merit except L. Pullan's *Religion since the Reformation* (1923), a collection of eight studies, in each of which matters of interest and importance, some of them not generally known, are brought before us.

THE EASTERN CHURCH.

Considering the long-continued efforts towards a *rapprochement* of the Orthodox and Anglican Communion, the number of English works of any magnitude or worth on the Eastern Churches is curiously small. For centuries, of course, the Eastern Churches had annals but no history in the sense that the Western Church has had. Even so, one might have expected a much larger output of works designed to explain the Eastern Church to the English mind. The only large work we can adduce is the series of volumes by J. M. Neale, *The Patriarchate of Alexandria*, 2 vols. (1847), *The History of the Holy Eastern Church: General Introduction*, 2 vols. (1850), and his unfinished *Patriarchate of Antioch* (1873). This work was

largely used as an authority by Dean Stanley, to whose own Lectures we have already referred, and is marked by laborious study and great learning. Best and most comprehensive is the excellent volume by W. F. Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches* (1909). On the Coptic Church A. J. Butler's *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, 2 vols. (1884), is of great merit. On the Nestorians we have Bethune-Baker's *Nestorius and his Teaching* (1908), an important book, and *The Monks of Kublai Khan*, by Sir E. A. Wallace Budge (1928), which brings to notice an all

but forgotten chapter of Church History—the vast missionary enterprise of the Nestorians in Central Asia. Valuable are F. C. Burkitt's *Early Eastern Christianity* (1904), which deals with the Syriac-speaking Church, and G. M. Rae's *Syrian Church in India* (1892), which discusses with knowledge and sober judgment the probable origin of that ancient Christian settlement, to conclude that here is another instance of the missionary zeal of the Nestorians.

(To be continued.)

Literature.

THE MESSAGE OF ISRAEL.

IN spite of the increased complexity of life which results from the advance of civilization, it remains true that 'the things by which men live' are elemental in character and comparatively few in number. Any generation of men may with safety change the form of these, but a generation which, in changing their form, loosens its hold on their substance is doomed. The results of such a loosening are summed up in the word 'world-chaos.' We in this generation appear to have fallen into this parlous state, and any sincere effort to recall us to the true way of living is to be welcomed.

In his Chalmers Lectures (1931), now published under the title *The Message of Israel* (James Clarke; 7s. 6d. net), Professor J. E. McFadyen, D.D., of Trinity College, Glasgow, helps us to this end by elucidating for us the guidance which Israel of the Old Testament has to offer to a perplexed world to-day.

This book is beautiful in its strong prophetic insistence upon moral values, beautiful, too, in its firm faith and gravely cheerful atmosphere; beautiful in its breadth of outlook and its courteous forthrightness, and most beautiful of all in its ministry of consolation and hope, here offered to our saddened and disillusioned spirits.

Almost at the beginning of the book we find these words, 'I believe and am persuaded that the Old Testament is a real word of God, a word for us and for all men, for our age and for every age, as well as for the men and the age on whose ears it first fell.' With this fine conviction Dr. McFadyen sets out on his task, and from this he does not depart.

In the first chapter are discussed 'Some Permanent Values.' Among these chief place is given to Israel's sense of God, especially that sense of God as the God of the moral order, with its implications for human duty. Concerning this, the author rightly says, 'There is nothing that the modern world and even the modern Church more sorely needs than to recapture this sense of God.'

In the illuminating chapter on 'The Bible in Education,' the author has much guidance to give. In the Old Testament the aim of education is everywhere shown to be the formation of character; the chief centre of education was the home; and the materials of education were the national history, viewed under the concept of the eternal God working out His purpose in it. Dr. McFadyen next passes to what is to be taught to the child of to-day from the Old Testament, and here he has some supremely wise things to say to us concerning the capacity of the child and the postponement of stories containing sub-Christian views of God. His handling of the teaching of miracle-stories is judicious, and he draws a wise distinction between narratives that convey truth through imagination and narratives which involve a distortion of history.

In chapter iii., 'Reform and Re-construction,' are two admirable studies of Amos and Zechariah—'the one at the beginning of the movement illustrating reform, the other, towards the end, illustrating reconstruction.' 'Every line of Amos shows that he was addressing a people very like ourselves and a civilization very like our own.' Dr. McFadyen shows us all too clearly how close is the parallel. The drunkenness, luxury, dishonesty, and indifference to spiritual things which the

peasant-prophet castigated so mercilessly in Israel, he would still have cause to castigate, were he among us. The God of Amos is the God of the moral order. Because of that, He is also a God of love. The preparation for meeting this God, therefore, was, for Amos, not sacrifice but the overflowing of justice and social righteousness. These truths are brought out by Dr. McFadyen in pages which glow with a passionate love of men.

Turning to Zechariah, the author sounds the note of high courage and hope. The prophet's new City of God is admirably commented upon, with its happy people, its playing children, and its old folks sitting at rest in the sun. Equally lucid is the explanation of its attractiveness to all nations. It is the City of God, where work and reward alike are honest, where right is right and wrong is wrong, and where none invokes the dubious power of casuistry in his dealings with men.

Chapter iv. is a discussion on 'Prophet and Priest,' with especial reference to sacrifice. This raises the question of man's relation to the animal kingdom. The conclusion reached is, broadly, that even prophets who in some measure recognize the cult, repudiated animal sacrifice. With fine insight, Dr. McFadyen points out that the real anti-type of the sacrifice on the Cross is not the animal-sacrifice of the Old Testament, but the Suffering Servant (Is 53) who sacrificed *Himself*. This leads to the conclusion, insisted upon by the prophets, that religion must express itself in service. 'The redeemed must become redeemers.'

In 'The World-Riddle,' the author discusses the problem of evil, as faced by Old Testament thinkers. Scepticism, he points out, has a contribution to make to truth. This chapter contains a fine analysis of Pss 37, 49, and 73 in the light of this problem; a profound study of the solutions offered by the prophets—from retribution to vicarious suffering; and concludes with a vivid outline of the problem as seen by the author of 'Job.'

In the final chapter on 'Brotherhood,' Dr. McFadyen discusses 'these great denials of brotherhood,' the exploitation of the poor, slavery, anti-pathy to the foreigner, and war, and states the Old Testament view so cogently that we are forced to conclude that, alike in principle and practice, we have much to learn from these old Hebrews. The chapter closes with a beautiful section on the prevalence in Israel of respect for the personality, as instanced in the case of women, slaves, and criminals.

This work covers a very wide field, which might have daunted the bravest. Yet the impression it leaves is that it is so thoroughly adequate. There

is no feeling of disproportion between aim and effort, between effort and achievement. The perennial nature of the problems involved is thoroughly grasped, yet the solution is not regarded as unattainable. The problems are perennial only because each generation has to face them. Their solution lies for each generation in the heart of a loving and eternal God, now, in His goodness, made manifest in Jesus Christ our Lord and Redeemer. This is a brave book alike in its unswerving candour, its note of authority, its sweet-reasonableness, its passionate love for God and men, and its trumpet-tones of trust in God and hope for men.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

Professor F. J. Foakes-Jackson, D.D., has given us an able and interesting work on *The Acts of the Apostles* in the 'Moffatt New Testament Commentary' series (Hodder & Stoughton; 8s. 6d. net). At the beginning he lays down the principle that 'to be understood such a book as Acts must be admired, and it should be appreciated before it is criticised,' and it is in this spirit that he writes. Dr. Foakes-Jackson's sympathies are obviously in favour of the Lukan authorship. Unfortunately, we are prevented from knowing his opinion of the date by a misprint which ascribes the Book to 'before about A.D. 320.' Among the many good things in the Commentary we have space only to catalogue the very able treatment given to the speeches in the Acts, and the effective use made of the principle that 'whenever he (Luke) describes an important spiritual event which he did not witness, he adopts a dramatic method of narration.' Dr. Foakes-Jackson writes with great frankness; he describes the narrative of Ananias and Sapphira as 'frankly repulsive,' and speaks of Paul's plea before the Sanhedrin as 'the none too creditable stratagem of setting his judges by the ears.' He immediately adds that this is not the sort of incident one would expect in the laudatory biography of a saint, and that it is to the credit of the author that he has recorded it. But, while the book contains many valuable observations, it is more a work on the Acts than a good commentary, and important points, like the relation of Gal 2 and Ac 15, receive slight attention. The final responsibility for this is not altogether that of the author, for a series which gives the same space to the four chapters of Philippians and to the twenty-eight chapters of the Acts is not well planned. Two volumes ought to have been allotted to the

Acts, and the manner in which Dr. Foakes-Jackson has used his available space shows what good use he could have made of them. Having made our grumble, we have no hesitation in adding that all who get this volume will receive excellent value, and, after all, like Oliver, to ask for more is itself a tribute of appreciation. The exposition includes many acute comments, fine perceptions, and well-balanced judgments, and is a valuable contribution to the better understanding of the Acts.

A TEACHING CHURCH.

One of the regrettable features of Church life to-day is the gap (in religious *knowledge*) between the pulpit and the pew. The pulpit is familiar with the results of Biblical criticism, and this knowledge has given it a new view of the Bible. But the pew is still largely without this knowledge, and gets little guidance from the pulpit. The result is a dangerous discrepancy, and we can hail with hopefulness any sign of a real emphasis on the teaching function of the Church. We therefore commend cordially a small book, *Outlines of Teaching Sermons for a Year* (Allen & Unwin; 2s. net). The book is small, but it is important and valuable and represents something to which attention should be called. The volume has been prepared by a sub-committee dealing with adult religious education in the diocese of St. Albans, and edited by the Rev. C. E. Hudson. Its aim is to show how the ordinary Sunday sermon can be made a vehicle for sound continuous teaching of the Christian faith and life. The scheme is a unity. Each section is related to those which precede and follow it. The scheme is such that it is of little use to a lazy man who would turn to it on Saturday night, but offers real help and guidance to the man who wants to put some brain and heart into a systematic effort to help his people to understand. The sections are (1) Grounds of Belief in God; (2) Four sermons on the Old Testament; (3) Twelve sermons on the Life of our Lord; and (4) Twelve sermons on 'Life in Christ.' It is intended to follow this volume with others developing the themes here introduced. The whole thing is admirable. The Church generally is under a real debt to the men who have attempted it. We hope the little book will be widely circulated.

THE NUMINOUS.

In *Religious Essays* (Milford; 7s. 6d. net), Professor Rudolf Otto publishes a supplement to

'The Idea of the Holy.' The translation is by Mr. Brian Lunn, M.A. (Oxon.), and is couched in clear and expressive language. There are fourteen essays in all, seven in the first section (which is theological), five in the second (which belongs to philosophy of religion), and two in the appendix (one outlining the common tasks of Protestantism, and the other advocating an inter-religious league). The essays of the second section have appeared in earlier German editions of 'Das Heilige' as supplementary chapters. The youthful Schleiermacher's rediscovery of the Numinous, the doctrine of the *dissimile* (or 'wholly other' in God) in religious history and theology, parallels and convergences in the history of religion, the desirability and possibility of a universal religion, Darwinism and religion, are the subjects discussed. In the first section four of the essays treat of the idea of sin, and in particular maintain that if sin, expiation, lostness, salvation, the Fall, and original guilt are assimilated to the numinous atmosphere of the Bible, instead of being drawn into the moralistic sphere, they recover their unimpeachable truth for the religious sense. The numinous experience of the prophets of Israel and the numinous meaning of the Lord's Supper are also expounded, and in the last essay of this section suggestions are made concerning the ordinary service and the Communion service.

Of all moments of the Numinous the 'Wholly Other' may be the most difficult to elucidate, but it appears to us to be one of the most significant for the theistic problem. Professor Otto tells us that the term itself is an old term in the religion of India, and that it is found in Augustine as the *Aliud valde* or the *Dissimile*. It serves to remind us that religion is something entirely different from anthropomorphism or from morality touched with emotion; and that, consequently, belief in God is not dependent on arguments from the human analogy or from ethical data. The 'Wholly Other' is a thought which has been always implicit in the utterances of the religious mind; it only awaits philosophical recognition.

THE IDEA OF THE ATONEMENT.

An attractive little volume has appeared under the title *Christus Victor* (S.P.C.K.; 6s. net). It is an historical study of the three main types of the idea of the Atonement. Its author is Professor Gustaf Aulén of the Chair of Systematic Theology in the University of Lund, and the work is before us in a most readable translation from the hand of

Mr. A. G. Hebert, M.A., of the Society of the Sacred Mission, Kelham. In Dr. Aulén's view the three main theories of the Atonement are the Classic, the Latin or objective, and the Humanistic or subjective. By the Latin he means the forensic theory, particularly in its Anselmian form, by the Humanistic the exemplarist theory, by the Classic the theory which represents the work of reconciliation as from first to last a work of God Himself—a *continuous* Divine work, as distinguished from the *discontinuous* Divine work implied in the idea of an offering made to God by Christ as man. It is the Classic theory because, according to the writer of this book, it was the ruling idea of the Atonement for the first thousand years of Christian history, and it confronts us again in Martin Luther. It rests upon such a text as 2 Co 5¹⁹, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself,' in which the Atonement is directly linked to the Incarnation; and its central theme is the idea of the Atonement as a Divine conflict and victory: Christ—Christus Victor—fights against and triumphs over the evil powers of the world. It may be otherwise described as the 'dualistic-dramatic' view.

If Professor Aulén be right, then the Latin type of Atonement theory turns out to be really a 'side-track' in the history of dogma, and it is Luther, not Anselm and the mediæval scholastics, who carries forward the main line of the dogmatic movement. But is he right? Certainly in Irenæus and the later Fathers there appears to be no antithesis between the Incarnation and the Atonement, and the continuity of the Divine work is not interrupted by the idea of an offering made to God from man's side. But Professor Aulén has to allow that the double aspect of dualistic-dramatic Atonement, in which God is both the Reconciler and the Reconciled, makes it next to impossible to construct a rationally consistent theory of the Atonement, such as Anselm's is. It may be that the demand for rational clearness does not represent the highest theological wisdom, but if the Classic theory, whether in the Fathers or in the New Testament, is not a 'developed theological doctrine,' but rather 'an idea or *motif*' expressed with variations of outward form, why treat it as a theory and represent it as one of the three main types of the doctrine of the Atonement?

It looks as though Professor Aulén realizes the cogency of such a criticism. At the end of his book he is careful to repeat that the Classic idea of the Atonement is not a theory or doctrine; it has never been moulded on rational lines. But that being so, it is not properly compared and contrasted, as it

is throughout the book, with the Latin and the Humanistic theories.

The thesis of the book apart, we have here much that is of interest and value for the student of historical theology. Not the least interesting or valuable chapter is the account of Luther's conception of the Atonement. If to be mythological in standpoint is catholic, then Luther is indeed catholic. And if Melancthon did not maintain the same standpoint, it may not have been wholly due to failure to understand his leader. May it not have been even largely due to the desire of formulating a rational theory, in which the great historic ideas of justification, atonement, and salvation should not be, as apparently they are for Professor Aulén, 'really one and the same thing'?

RELIGIOUS REALISM.

An interesting volume of composite American authorship, edited by Professor D. C. Macintosh, has appeared under the title *Religious Realism* (Macmillan; ros. 6d. net). As the term is used in the volume it means centrally 'the view that a religious Object, such as may appropriately be called God, exists independently of our consciousness thereof, and is yet related to us in such a way that through reflection on experience in general and religious experience in particular . . . it is possible for us to gain either (as some would maintain) adequately verified knowledge or (as others would be content to affirm) a practically valuable and theoretically permissible faith.' That is not the whole definition, but it is the gist of it. The term serves to cover a variety of views.

Perhaps the contributors best known on this side of the Atlantic are A. K. Rogers ('Is Religion Important?'), J. B. Pratt ('The Implications of Human Consciousness'), A. G. Wiggery ('Religious Realism and the Empirical Facts of Religion'), H. N. Wieman ('God and Value'), G. A. Coe ('A Realistic View of Death'), D. C. Macintosh ('Experimental Realism in Religion'), W. K. Wright ('God and Emergent Evolution'), J. E. Boodin ('God and the Cosmos'), and W. P. Montague ('The Trinity: A Speculation'). It will be gathered that the volume offers a varied fare; and not only are the items independent of each other, they form no unitary scheme. There are fifteen essays in all.

Professor Rogers deals in particular with Mr. Walter Lippmann's 'Preface to Morals,' and defends that faith in ultimate values, that belief in the reasonableness of the universe, which are, if in an

attenuated form, religion. Professor Pratt deals with the naturalistic view of the mind-body problem, and affirms the reality of the spiritual and the supernatural. Professor Macintosh, whose essay is the longest, advocates experimentalism as a theory of the genesis of religion in the sense that religion is an integral part of man's experimental adjustment to reality for the promotion of values. In the metaphysical part of his discussion he considers what we scientifically know, what we must reasonably believe, and what we may be permitted to surmise about God. Professor Wright offers a stout apology for the personal God of the traditional theism, and his essay is one of the best-written in the whole book. Mention should also be made of two informative and useful essays, one on 'Plato as Religious Realist,' and the other on Husserl and the Phenomenological School.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF FAITH.

The lectures delivered in 1927-28 in the University of Calcutta under the Stephanes Nirmalendu Ghosh Foundation by Professor Douglas Clyde Macintosh of Yale are now published in expanded form—*The Pilgrimage of Faith in the World of Modern Thought* (Longmans; 7s. 6d. net). The lectures under that Foundation ought to be on Comparative Religion. The author defines that subject in a rather unusual way which is difficult to distinguish from philosophy of religion. No matter, that was a point for the Trustees to consider; and we are grateful to them for allowing Dr. Macintosh to give us under their auspices one of the most able and valuable studies which recent times have produced. He opens by describing the quest for a universal religion. That is the search on which thinkers have been and still are on 'pilgrimage.' He ends with a statement of what he conceives a satisfying universal religion will be like. It will be one which rejects all the weaknesses and conserves all the elements of good which pilgrims have discovered in their respective camping-places. It will for our purpose be almost sufficient if we reproduce the ingenious Table of Contents. 'The House of Bondage: Traditionalism'; 'Escape to the Wilderness: Empiricism and the Will to Believe'; 'In the Wilderness still: Critical Agnosticism and Moral Faith'; 'The Promised Land: Rational Idealism and Speculative Theology'; 'The Threat of Captivity: Second Thoughts about Idealism'; 'Exile: Pragmatism and Religious Values'; 'Homeward Bound: Representational Pragmatism and Moral Optimism'; 'Reconstructing the

Temple: Critical Monism and a Scientific Theology'; 'Rebuilding the Walls: The New Metaphysics.'

There we are made aware at once of what ground Dr. Macintosh means to survey and what his judgment on those important movements is. In all the chapters he is singularly fair-minded, and on each speaks with a competence and authority based on full understanding. Apart from his illuminating discussion, the book is very valuable for the long quotations from representative expounders of the various views, which quotations are given in footnotes.

As a slight sample of the quality of the work we may refer to Dr. Macintosh's treatment of traditionalism. He subjects it to merciless castigation in so far as it is weak. He presents the Fundamentalists with a long list of problems which will trouble him like the plagues of Egypt. Yet, 'we would commend, along with a seeking of new truth, a discriminating conservatism, such as would call for the conservation of the vital and dynamic values of religious tradition, as far as this is practicable within the limits of what is logical, scientific, ideal, and therefore universally valid.'

SIN AND SUFFERING.

In *Sin, Suffering, and God* (Hodder & Stoughton; 7s. 6d. net), the Rev. Dr. A. P. Shepherd seeks to give the Christian answer to the twin problems of sin and suffering. The problem of sin chiefly occupies him. It is his central contention that the problem of sin is not to be worked out as a matter of offence and punishment; it is not the vindication of an abstract Moral Law, or the appeasement of an Eternal Judge; it is the deliverance of man from sin. This is achieved by the manifestation of the Divine 'forgiveness,' which is itself a 'redemptive dynamic.' Nowhere is the manifestation more complete than at the Cross. In Jesus crucified we see at once the self-revelation of God as love and the very act of Divine redemption.

It is clear that the author does not accept the traditional idea of the Atonement as effected by a substitutionary sacrifice or satisfaction. But he seeks to maintain the idea of an objective necessity in the Cross. The redemptive power of God's forgiveness could not have been released, he says, merely by a revelation of the truth that God forgives, but only by a definite objective act of Divine 'forgivingness.' It appears to us, however, that his discussion of this point lacks cogency.

Besides a chapter on Suffering, in which the widely prevalent notion of Divine passibility is

rejected, there are chapters on Christ's Teaching about Judgment and on the Place and Value of Punishment. The penultimate chapter on The Purpose of Creation is one of the best and strongest; it contains a good exposition of the idea, much canvassed in modern theism, of God's Self-limitation in Creation (interpreted as the Self-expression of God under the form of Evolution). But many theists would join issue with the writer on the question of the inevitableness of sin, even on evolutionary premises.

It should be added that the book is on popular and untechnical lines and often reveals the preacher; that it is a thoughtful book, reflecting a modern outlook upon science; and that it would be improved by a more straightforward and logically progressive style.

WORLD PEACE.

In ordinary civilized society men no longer carry weapons, yet human life is safe: why then do nations seek to compass their security by piling up armaments? This is the question which Mr. A. J. Jacobs seeks to answer in an interesting volume on *World Peace and Armaments: The Problem Re-examined* (Hutchinson; 5s. net). He answers it by pointing out that in the former case men accept responsibility for one another's safety, there is voluntary co-operation for mutual protection, while in international life this principle is not applied—if it were, the prevalent relation between nations would be one of peace, as it is between the citizens of a country. A general system of co-operation for mutual protection would give weak nations a feeling of greater security and remove from strong nations much of the temptation to which in the past they have been exposed.

This point is argued with much force and a good deal of repetition. Civilization, Mr. Jacobs points out, is maintained by the co-operative employment of force for the purpose of preventing its competitive use: the extension of this principle would give us international peace. Here is a vivid summary of the argument which puts the case in a nutshell. 'At an international assembly attended by representatives of the various states it is possible to imagine a quarrel between two of them in the course of which one member in the heat of passion draws a weapon and attempts to use it against his opponent, but it is not possible to imagine the others remaining passive onlookers, though the gathering might include every race, creed, and colour. They would instinctively spring to prevent the use of violence

even though it may have been outrageously provoked. As soon as it is recognized that their respective nations must be willing to do the same in order to prevent a war-like attack, the world's peace will be assured and justice in international relations will have become a practical possibility.'

THE LAMP OF ILLUMINATION.

Part III. of Al-Nakawa's *Menorat Ha-Maor*, of which the earlier parts have been already noticed in this magazine, has just appeared under the very competent editorship of H. G. Enelow (Bloch Publishing Co., New York). The Hebrew text, which runs to six hundred and twenty-nine pages, is beautifully printed, and it is accompanied by an introduction and synopsis of the contents which are a model of what an introduction and synopsis should be. The 'Lamp of Illumination,' to give the book its English title, comes from the latter part of the fourteenth century A.D., a time of much disaster and sorrow for the Jews, and it was written by Al-Nakawa, who perished in 1391, for the purpose of saving the religious loyalty and ethical integrity of his people. It carries on the great tradition of the Old Testament with its emphasis on morality as the indispensable expression of religion. In that time of persecution, ethical and spiritual stimulus was more than ever necessary, the more so owing to the difficulty and comparative inaccessibility of the Talmud and the unsystematic nature of its teaching.

The topics dealt with in the six chapters of the 'Lamp' are these—Repentance, Humility, Devotion to the Study of the Torah, Rites and Ceremonies (especially mourning customs), Loving-kindness, Sabbath and the Festivals. Each of these topics is treated with an almost Aristotelian thoroughness. 'There are seven things,' it is said, for example, in the chapter on Repentance, 'that a penitent must consider, if he is to care for repentance at all.' These things are then enumerated. Then our author goes on, 'Repentance rests on four principles, each of which may be divided into five particular parts.' Then these are in turn enumerated. It might seem from all this that the discussion was just an elaborate piece of arid scholasticism. The very reverse is the case. The book abounds in aphorisms and illustrations, and in places it reflects with pathetic vividness 'the miseries and misfortunes of the age, great enough to break one's heart.' Everywhere it displays a ripe wisdom and a rich understanding of human nature, as, for example, when it reminds us that 'excessive meekness is often but a form of

vanity,' or that 'one must beware of grieving too much' for the dead; 'one should not try to appear more tender than God.' The text rests on a unique manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and all students of Jewish literature will be deeply indebted to Dr. Enelow for making so valuable a text accessible.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR.

The Epistles of the Sundays and Festivals, 2 vols. (Gill & Sons, Dublin; 42s. net), by Cornelius J. Ryan, D.D., late Canon of the Metropolitan Chapter of Dublin, is a sequel to 'The Gospels of the Sundays and Festivals,' a work which—according to the editors of the present volumes—is found on the book-shelves of English-speaking priests the world over, and has won for the late Canon Ryan widespread and lasting fame. We have not seen the previous work, but the work before us is obviously one that will prove most serviceable to English-speaking priests, and might with profit be consulted by ministers of other communions than the Roman.

Under each Sunday or Festival of the Christian Year are given the Greek and Latin (Vulgate) texts of the 'Epistle,' followed by an English translation, critical and exegetical notes, and moral reflections. In the notes, in which Greek and Hebrew texts are often quoted, use has been made of commentators such as Alford, Ellicott, and Lightfoot as well as of Roman commentators. The moral reflections are homilies on the passages for the various Sundays and Holy Days. They abound in wise counsels and exhortations, and are not marred by the polemical spirit. Here is a sample of even-handed dealing: 'If Protestants err by wishing to replace the Church by the Bible from which they derive their creed and code of laws, some Catholics err by neglecting the Bible too much, by having banned it from their collection of spiritual books. In place of the Sapiential Books, the Gospels, the Letters of the Apostles, which very few have read, Catholics, generally speaking, read books of sentimental piety, or books which contain nothing solid.'

The volumes are prefaced by an Introduction to the Pauline and Catholic Epistles and the Book of Acts. It extends to about a hundred pages, and is proportionate and useful. Canon Ryan is, of course, content to rest upon the authority of the Council of Trent in affirming that the fourteen works known as the Pauline Epistles had for their author the Apostle of the Gentiles. But it is interesting to find that, although since the Council of Trent the controversy regarding the *authorship*

of the Epistle to the Hebrews is for the Roman Church ended, the question as to the *writer* still remains open. Canon Ryan inclines to the opinion that the matter and all the ideas were supplied by St. Paul, but that a companion of the Apostle—St. Clement of Rome rather than Barnabas or Luke—expressed the matter and the ideas in his own elegant style and diction.

PROPERTY.

Property: A Study in Social Psychology (Allen & Unwin; 10s. 6d. net), by Mr. Ernest Beaglehole, is the first of a series of Studies in Political Science and Sociology to be issued under the auspices of the London School of Economics and Political Science, and under the editorship of Professor M. Ginsberg and Professor H. J. Laski. The series has made an excellent start. Mr. Beaglehole is to be congratulated upon the production of a deeply interesting book, clearly arranged and clearly written, in which a reasonable thesis is maintained with conspicuous ability and supported by data drawn from many varied quarters. Obviously he is a keen and diligent investigator.

What he offers in this book, which appears to be the first of its kind, is a study of the sociological and psychological basis of the institution of property. Part I. treats of the animal world, Part II. of primitive man, and Part III. of the individual of to-day—the child, the adult, and the abnormal individual. The book is properly described as 'an excursus into the border-country lying between psychology and sociology.'

The main thesis, which is sustained through the biological and anthropological approach as well as in the sphere of individual psychology, is that to speak of an instinct of property or of an instinct of acquisition is to import a false simplicity into what is essentially a complex set of facts. Acquisition *per se* is not a fundamental need of the self; it is one aspect of each fundamental need.

Emphasis is laid on the part played by 'culture patterning' in the development of property rights in the maturing child. Through the influence of the social environment (family, school, church), the primitive stuff of the child's human nature is cut to the patterns of the rights and duties of the wider society. The moulding of the plastic human nature by the 'culture pattern' adapts one child to a communist organization of society, such as that of Soviet Russia, and another to a Western capitalist society. This fact is considered by the author as a valuable supplement in favour of his thesis.

DIGGING UP BIBLICAL HISTORY.

The revelation of the ancient life of Palestine which is pouring in on us is making the lives of Bible characters so much more real, and putting them in such clear perspective, that new assurance and power are being given to the Old Testament message. We now have *Digging up Biblical History*, vol. ii. (S.P.C.K.; 12s. 6d. net), by the Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, B.D., the well-known Biblical archaeologist and Director of Excavations in the East. The two volumes contain the Croall Lectures, considerably amplified. This second volume is not a whit behind the first in the valuable material it affords to the reader. In the first volume, the subjects dealt with were the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, and the period of the Hebrew Conquest. In this one, the matters treated concern the Hebrew and Canaanite domestic architecture, the religion under the various epochs, the inscriptions, the burial customs, and the work in stone and metals. The architecture is followed from 2500 B.C. to 100 B.C., and includes houses and furnishings, granaries, water-supplies, stairways, drains, and wine and olive presses. The treatment of religion begins with that of the cave-dwellers, and comprises cup-hollows, high places, Astarte-worship, altars, shrines, serpent-worship, and other interesting aspects. Among the inscriptions discussed are those of the Moabite Stone, the Gezer Calendar, the Siloam tunnel, the Samaria ostraca, the Ahiram sarcophagus, the jar-handles, and others. The description of the burial customs starts from Neolithic times and goes on through the Amorite and Hebrew periods to the Byzantine epoch. The chapter on stone and metal work deals with flints, quarrying, tunnelling, weights, and lamps, as well as gold, silver, bronze, iron, lead, and ivory objects. The book forms an exceedingly useful compendium of Biblical archaeology both for the ordinary reader and for the Biblical student.

The author has not elaborated the points of contact with the Old Testament, as he has already done this in his volume, 'The Accuracy of the Old Testament,' but has contented himself with simply indicating these where necessary. He agrees with Dr. Garstang as to the date of the different walls of Jericho, but thinks there is still no reason to conclude that the outermost wall—the stone revetment, with brick parapet—was not the wall of Joshua's time. The inner wall—the double brick one, which enclosed little more than a citadel of six acres—may have been as late, he believes, as the time of Hiel. The later date of

the Exodus during the reign of Merenptah (c. 1233–1223 B.C.) is the one generally taken throughout the book, but in the Preface the author inclines to the earlier date (c. 1445 B.C.), which he believes will ultimately be the accepted one. In his discussion of the various inscriptions, it might have been helpful to the reader if these had been taken in chronological order and if some descriptive reference had been made to those of Abibaal and Elibaal, found at Byblus. The Siloam inscription is not the oldest, as the author states it 'perhaps' is. It must be attributed to the reign of Hezekiah (c. 700 B.C.) or Manasseh (c. 650 B.C.), whereas the Gezer Agricultural inscription is believed to date about 900 B.C. The author holds that the cursive writing developed much earlier than we think. But it must be remembered that it is not really found as early as the Samaria ostraca. In those early ages the form of writing engraved on stones did not differ from the current form traced by pen and ink. The engraver on stone, in applying his tool, only copied the characters as they were traced on potsherds or parchments. This is clearly seen in the inscription on Ahiram's sarcophagus, where the engraver has faithfully followed the fluctuations of the reed. The author is undoubtedly correct in holding that the names Hebron, Socoh, Ziph, and Memshath, found on jars, 'represent the centres of four revenue districts,' from which oil and wine were collected for the royal palace, and not places of pottery manufacture for the king, as Sayce, Clermont-Ganneau, Père Vincent, and Driver have suggested. The book adds considerably to Mr. Duncan's reputation as a scholar, archaeologist, and Biblical illustrator. It is an illuminating study, throwing a wonderful light on the ancient life of the inhabitants, helping in the understanding of various historical problems, and explaining many Biblical texts. Like the first volume, it ought to be in the possession of every one interested in Biblical history and customs. It contains an excellent index, a list of Biblical passages referred to, and numerous plates and figures.

Voices of the New Room, by the Rev. T. Ferrier Hulme, M.A., LL.D. (Abingdon Press; \$2.00), is decidedly an unfortunate title for a most excellent book. How many outside the ranks of Methodism have ever heard, or if they have heard have remembered, that the New Room in the Horsefair in Bristol was the first Methodist preaching place and a centre of much activity in the days of the Wesleys?

In this volume Dr. Hulme has given us a series of delightful and inspiring pictures of some of those who, being set on fire by the Wesleys, became themselves glowing centres of spiritual life and power. The substance of the book was delivered to the students of Drew Theological Seminary under the terms of a Drew Lectureship recently instituted. Dr. Hulme is an ardent lover of the old heroes and saints who bore the first brunt of the battle and made Methodism a power in England. He would like to see a return of the old fervour, filling the churches with joy and love, and sending the followers of Wesley once again out into the highways and byways to seek the lost. These lectures, so vivacious, so enthusiastic, so delightfully humorous, are well fitted to give a great impulse in that direction.

The Healing of Souls, by the Rev. M. H. Lichliter, D.D. (Abingdon Press ; \$1.50), is a really first-rate book on the pastoral work of the Christian ministry. The writer has much that is extremely wise and timely to say about spiritual healing. While fully recognizing its value, he utters grave warnings against ministers rashly venturing into this field and becoming absorbed in the treatment of abnormal cases. It seems that in America, where many churches opened clinics for spiritual healing, a reaction has set in and many clinics have been closed. After all, the minister in his cure of souls has to deal with the troubles of normal folk. On problems connected with Youth, Age and Death, with Sex, Mental Tension and Nervous Fears, Dr. Lichliter discourses with great wisdom and ripe Christian experience. His plea for greater reticence in the discussion of sex problems is weighty and convincing. This is a book to be most warmly commended.

At a time when our Government and Parliament are confronted with a crisis in our relations with our Indian Empire, there is published a volume of *Letters from Lord Sydenham, Governor-General of Canada, 1839-1841, to Lord John Russell*, edited by Paul Knaplund, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin (Allen & Unwin ; 7s. 6d. net). This is a striking reminder that almost a century ago when Queen Victoria was a young girl upon the throne, the Government and Parliament of that day were at their wits' end over the seemingly insoluble problem of the government of the two Canadas. They had Lower or French Canada, where the French hated the English and 'would have cut all their throats if they could,' and the

English equally hated the French ; and there was Upper or British Canada, a huge unknown territory with a sparse population eager for the birthright of their race—the right of self-government. Professor Knaplund has done a public service in rescuing from oblivion this real Empire Builder—C. Poulett Thomson, a member of the Queen's first Government and an intimate friend of Lord John Russell, who sent him to Canada, that grave of many reputations, as its first Governor-General. The private letters of Thomson to his chief have been rescued from the official records, not without great difficulty. They show with what determination and shrewdness, and a genius for managing both difficult men and difficult situations the new Governor-General achieved the seemingly impossible, first in Montreal and Toronto and then in Quebec, and ere the end of two years was the Director-General of a United Parliament. He had done what that abler man, Lord Durham, had desired, but failed, to do. We are told he was ambitious, but strange to say his chief ambition was to gain a peerage. In this also he succeeded. Alas for the vanity of human wishes ! On the eve of his return home he fell from his horse, like Sir Robert Peel, and died from the consequences. He was buried in Canada, and it is fitting that a Canadian should have written this worthy memorial of him.

Society at War, 1914-1916, by Miss Caroline E. Playne (Allen & Unwin ; 12s. 6d. net), is a carefully documented account of what went on at the 'Home Front' during the first stage of the Great War. While the struggle was going on Miss Playne was sedulously gathering, from books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other fugitive sources, evidence of the conduct of people at home. And she has made good use of her industry. What the women were doing, what the statesmen were doing, what the Church was doing, what the Press was doing, all this is well and truly exhibited for us in a context of decided pacifism. The pacifism colours, it is true, both her statement of facts and her conclusions from them. But whatever be the reader's opinion on this fundamental issue, he will be interested in the review here presented of the Society of 1914-1916. We should like, however, to find in books of this kind a real attempt to justify a pacifism which holds that any war at any time and in any conditions is wrong and vile. If that be true then Miss Playne's criticism of the Church in 1914-1916 is justified. If it is not true then her criticism loses its point.

Solomon Schechter is an honoured name among modern Jews, and it was fitting that one of the Arthur Davis Memorial Lectures should be devoted to him. It was delivered by Mr. Norman Bentwich (Allen & Unwin; 1s. paper, 2s. cloth), who happily combines a brief but adequate account of Schechter's career and a vivid picture of the man himself with an enthusiastic appreciation of his work and influence as prophet and rabbi, seer and teacher, 'the inspiring master of Jewish tradition.' He was one of those who believe that the Jews could revive their national life only in the land of Israel. Perhaps he is best known by his 'Studies in Judaism.' Besides these, which matter most to laymen, he published scholarly editions of ancient or newly discovered texts; but his more popular studies, if 'popular' is the proper word to apply, are marked by the same thoroughness and exactness as his more distinctively scholarly books. Altogether there looks from out these pleasant pages the eager face of one who passionately loved all that Israel has stood for in the world. 'It was the combination of scholar and joyous mystic which distinguished him through life.'

Those who listened to the broadcast talks by the Rev. C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism at Manchester University, in the spring of this year on the history of the Bible will be glad to have them in a permanent form. They are published under the title *The Bible and its Background* (Allen & Unwin; 2s. 6d. net). The little book contains interesting and well-informed chapters on the Canon, and on each separate division of it. The writer is naturally on the side of the moderns, but his survey is fair and adequate within his limits. It is an excellent popular presentation of knowledge that very many need, and not a few desire.

Much interest has been taken of recent years in the subject of spiritual healing. In *Christianity and the Cure of Disease*, by the Rev. George S. Marr, B.D., M.B., Ch.B., D.Litt. (Allenson; 5s. net), we have an interesting and popular account of the history of the subject from the earliest times. Following upon that the writer puts forward his thesis that the Church ought to resume her lost ministry of healing. 'Spiritual healing is a *vera causa*, and the Church possesses a distinctive healing ministry. How is this healing mission to be organised and gain its rightful place in the life of the community?' Close and friendly co-operation between doctors and ministers should be

emphasized. The whole treatment of the subject is marked by great sanity, and the book may be warmly commended to the attention both of the Church and of the medical profession.

Should women be admitted to the full status of ministers of the Word, or priests of the Church as the case may be? Miss E. Louie Acres has compiled a long list of the objections to this privilege taken from many quarters, and under each question or argument of a negative character she puts her answer. In logic she has a good case, and, while she feels strongly on the matter, she is always gracious and courteous, and never truculent, in her statements. Her book is called *Some Questions and Answers concerning Women and Priesthood* (Allenson; 2s. net).

Dr. Alexander Souter, Regius Professor of Humanity at Aberdeen University, has now completed his Pelagian Studies in the series 'Texts and Studies,' edited by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, in a scholarly work entitled *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul: III. Pseudo-Jerome Interpolations* (Cambridge University Press; 7s. 6d. net). Besides recording the readings of the available MSS, Professor Souter has made, and put at the disposal of students, a complete collation of the Götting MS. of Pseudo-Jerome; he also prints a useful list of Latin phrases which characterize the work of the interpolator and distinguish him from Pelagius himself. In reading this work it is impossible not to recognize the patient and sacrificial spirit of a ripe scholarship which is willing to make contributions in remote fields to the better understanding of Christian thought and history. 'The purpose of an all-wise Providence,' Dr. Souter quaintly remarks, 'in decreeing that an Augustinian should spend a large portion of his life in studying Pelagius, may be regarded as one of life's ironies.' We would say that it is one of the often unnoticed glories of Christian scholarship.

Who can be expected to pay 12s. 6d. for what can be had *gratis*? The student of Church history will get lists of books on the various topics both from his Professor and in the standard book he reads. The general reader can find his requirement met in the classified catalogue of the public library, or in any work of a scholarly quality upon any particular subject. The only justification for publishing of bibliographies is that they shall be complete and that the items shall be commented upon uniformly. *A Bibliographical Guide to the*

History of Christianity, edited by Mr. S. J. Case (Cambridge University Press ; 12s. 6d. net), fails in both regards. It is far from complete—how far may be judged from the fact that the names of Sir W. M. Ramsay and A. B. Scott do not appear. The notes are distributed on no ascertainable principle.

An elaborate and carefully thought-out series of contributions to its subject by various authors is contained in *Religion in Higher Education*, edited by Mr. Milton C. Towner (Cambridge University Press ; 15s. net). The volume contains papers read at a conference of Church workers at Chicago as well as other essays from various hands. The main theme is making religion real to college students. Catholic, Jew, and Protestant, psychologist, physicist, and social scientist have all contributed to this discussion. Four writers give us a shove-off, dealing with 'Reality and the Good Life.' There we have four excellent essays on the 'Implications for Religion of Current Trends in Scientific and Social Thought.' Next we get accounts of the contributions to college religious life by 'major groups,' Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant. Further there are eight chapters dealing with various university agencies and what they do for university religion, the college preacher, the 'director of religious life,' the Y.M.C.A. secretary, and so on. And we end with two discussions of the training of the religious worker. This is a big mouthful, but it is good stuff. There is a wholesome protest throughout against the invasion of education by materialistic, mechanical views and a wholesome insistence on the fact that education is not for use but for life. And there is throughout the whole book a strong and sustained plea for idealism and spiritual reality in college life.

It should be noted that the University of Chicago Press has published a new edition of *The Life of Christ*, adapted from the Life of Christ by Ernest D. Burton and Shailer Mathews, by Isaac Bronson Burgess (9s. net). It will be remembered that this Life is intended for the use of students of high-school age.

The Basis of Evolutionary Faith, by Professor Floyd E. Hamilton, Th.M. (James Clarke ; 6s. net), is 'a critique of the theory of evolution,' and a very acute and searching critique it is. The writer has obviously made a careful study of the subject, and his competence is manifest in every chapter. He deals some shrewd blows at the assumption that

the man of science is beyond the layman's criticism. Specialism is so developed that no scientist can be an authority in more than one department. For the rest he must depend on the evidence of other scientists, whose writings are equally open to every student. Moreover, even in his own special field, while his observations are authoritative, his logic may be faulty and his inferences mistaken. At least they are subject to review by any trained mind. These considerations are advanced to clear the way for an open-minded reconsideration of the evidence on which the theory of evolution rests. The writer passes in review the evidence drawn from various fields, for example, embryology, anatomy, palæontology, etc., and demonstrates its weakness at certain critical points. In particular he stresses the fact that the modern science of genetics 'has in reality antiquated all the old arguments about the use and disuse of organs causing their atrophy or disappearance in succeeding generations,' and has also antiquated the theory 'that environment produces heritable changes adapted to the particular environment.' The whole argument is deserving of respectful consideration, and it would make most wholesome reading for those preachers and popular speakers who incline to use the terminology of evolution in a loose and inaccurate way without an up-to-date knowledge of the subject.

The large type edition of Weymouth's *New Testament in Modern Speech* has been issued by Messrs. James Clarke & Co. (7s. 6d. net). It is the fifth edition of this standard translation, and attention should be drawn to two facts—the excellent print in the large type, and the fact that the translation has been newly revised by Professor J. A. Robertson, D.D., Aberdeen.

All the readers of 'The Roadmender,' by Michael Fairless, will be glad of a one-volume edition containing her *Complete Works*. It has been published by Messrs. Duckworth at 5s. net. In addition to 'The Roadmender' it contains 'The Gathering of Brother Hilarius,' 'The Grey Brethren,' 'Four Stories Told to Children,' and 'Toutseul.' There is an interesting biographical note at the beginning of the volume giving briefly the facts of the authoress's life. Margaret Fairless Barber was born in 1869—'Michael Fairless' is a pseudonym. She was a true Nature lover. 'She not only knew about, she knew really and felt her kinship with every creature from "Earth, my mother whom I love," to the spaces and the stars.' She thought

it her duty to spend her time in active work for her fellow-men and trained as a nurse, and it was only a few years before her death, and when she was already ill, that she allowed her creative urge its way and wrote 'The Roadmender.' 'We may note,' says M. E. Dowson, 'as something a little ironical, the fact that *The Roadmender* has done more service in the cause of charity than she in all her workaday life.' This volume containing the complete works is very attractively got up and should be popular as a gift-book.

The 'Dark Continent' of half a century ago is being illumined in the most striking fashion, as it were from the centre all down to the sea. The latest record of its gradual but most effectual redemption from savagery, heathenism, and the unspeakable horrors of the slave trade is fittingly entitled *The Romance of Blantyre: How Livingstone's Dream Came True* (James Clarke; 7s. 6d. net). It is from the pen of the Rev. Alexander Hetherwick, C.B.E., D.D., late head of the Church of Scotland Mission, Nyasaland, Central Africa, now actively engaged in church work in Aberdeen, the birthplace of that other missionary hero, Dr. Laws of Livingstonia, still with us. The number who have fallen by the way is indicated by Dr. Hetherwick's dedication of this record to his 'comrades in the early days of Blantyre—David Clement Scott, Henry Henderson, Robert Cleland, John Bowie, William Affleck Scott, Henry Edwin Scott, James Beck, and John McIlwain.' The author says little of his own part in the long-sustained and always arduous conflict, but obviously it was that of an inspiring leader and tireless worker. Henderson was the pioneer who, despite all danger from savage beasts and still more savage men, surveyed the Shire highlands and selected the site on which Blantyre now stands. The Rev. Clement Scott was the notable preacher whose sermons had to be revised by his wife ere they were suited to his heathen congregation, and the still more remarkable architect and builder who without a particle of experience designed and built of bricks without straw a really handsome cathedral church. On the centenary of Livingstone's birth in Blantyre, Scotland, there was placed in this fine Blantyre cathedral church a bronze memorial tablet framed in marble subscribed for by the grandchildren of the famous missionary explorer and handed over to the Trustees by Mr. A. Livingstone Bruce, on the occasion of a notable celebration. Dr. Hetherwick had so notable a record to deal with that he should have kept strictly to the outstanding events. As it stands it is often

impossible to see the wood for the trees. A good map of the region would have enriched the volume.

Mr. Charles Eason, M.A., M.Comm., has published a pamphlet (1s. net) issued by Messrs. Eason & Son, Dublin, in which he has brought together a number of facts as to the publication of *Douay Versions of the Holy Scriptures in Ireland, with special reference to the New Testament, without Notes*, published in 1820, which is sold by the Colportage Societies of the Protestant Churches. He has explained how the New Testament, without Notes, came to be published and read in some of the schools assisted by the Kildare Place Society until the establishment of the National Board of Education in 1831. The pamphlet was prompted by the appearance of an incorrect account of the New Testament of 1820 in the 'Irish Ecclesiastical Record' of August 1930.

Messrs. Wells Gardner, Darton & Co. Ltd. have just issued the eleventh edition—carefully revised throughout—of *The Truth of Christianity*, by Lieut.-Col. W. H. Turton, D.S.O. Fifty-five thousand copies of this work have been sold (2s. net).

Three volumes of the 'Loeb Classical Library' have just been issued. They are volumes one and two of the *Opera Historica* of Bede and the *Select Letters* of St. Augustine. The translation in both cases is done by experts—Bede by Mr. J. E. King, M.A., D.Litt., and St. Augustine by Professor J. H. Baxter, B.D., D.Litt., of St. Andrews. The work is thoroughly scholarly, as one would expect, and the type and binding are excellent. The publishers are Messrs. Heinemann Ltd., and the price is 10s. in cloth, 12s. 6d. in leather.

Most preachers make some distinction between their morning and evening sermons. In the case of the late Dr. G. H. Morrison the distinction was accentuated. In the evening he gave those short and beautifully expressed devotional addresses which attracted large crowds to Wellington Church in Glasgow. The addresses were all published and have found appreciative readers all over the world. His morning sermons Dr. Morrison never released for publication. They were longer, they were definitely doctrinal, and their preparation took up much more time. Was he right in publishing the one and not the other? In two volumes issued by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton we may now compare the two. For the first volume of a popular edition of the evening sermons and a first volume of the morning sermons

have just been issued. The volume in the popular edition is *The Gateways of the Stars*. It contains addresses too well known to need commendation (3s. 6d. net). The other volume is just called *Morning Sermons*, volume i. (6s. net). We have quoted a considerable part of one of the sermons in 'The Christian Year.' It will prove, we think, that Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton are on very sound ground in deciding to give to the public a complete edition of Dr. Morrison's morning sermons.

The distinguished Orientalist, Professor Samuel A. B. Mercer, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., of Trinity College, Toronto, who a few years ago gave us an Ethiopic Grammar, has just published *The Ethiopic Text of the Book of Ecclesiastes* (Luzac; 8s. 6d. net), which will be all the more welcome to Ethiopic students as this is the first critical edition of that book ever published. Indeed, the first adequately critical edition of any book of the Old Testament in Ethiopic is as recent as 1927—Löfgren's 'Daniel'; it is rather surprising that until 1928 there was no complete printed edition of the Bible in Ethiopic at all. In 1930 Dr. Mercer was permitted to examine and photograph at Addis Alem in Abyssinia a very carefully guarded fifteenth-century MS.—in his judgment the earliest and best—which contained the Book of Ecclesiastes, and with this he collated twenty-three other MSS. The Ethiopic text which he offers, however, is not eclectic; it is that of the Addis Alem MS., with only a few very necessary corrections to be found in the variants. He gives an account of other MSS, several of which are in the British Museum; one of the Berlin MSS is described as very erratic, and one of the Paris MSS as among the best copies of Ethiopic Ecclesiastes extant. The Ethiopic text is clearly and beautifully printed, and supplemented by critico-textual notes with references to other versions, in which LXX figures prominently.

We are often perplexed to know what to recommend when we are asked for a non-technical book which answers the question: 'If Jesus did not actually speak the great "I am" discourses attributed to Him in the Gospel of John, what as a result must happen to our faith in Him?' Miss Mary R. E. Lyman, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, has just written such a book—*The Fourth Gospel and the Life of To-day* (Macmillan; 7s. 6d. net). The author is obviously well equipped in the necessary technical knowledge of her subject, but she keeps it in the background, and has the advantage of being able

to write in an easy and flowing style. She rightly accepts the Ephesian, non-Apostolic authorship of the Gospel, but, in our opinion, dates it unnecessarily late in the first or second decade of the second century. Excellent treatment is given to the Evangelist's literary art, his use of historical tradition, and the nature of his task, and illuminating chapters follow on the ethical, philosophical, and mystical aspects of the Gospel. Miss Lyman shows that in a real manner the Fourth Gospel answers the needs of to-day, especially the need for 'wholeness of view' and for 'lofty and poetic expression to a well-rounded interpretation of Christianity.'

The Alcuin Club was founded with the object of promoting the study of the History and Use of the Book of Common Prayer. Its numerous publications comprise a series of Tracts of which No. 13, *A Directory of Ceremonial* (Milford; 3s. net), now appears in its third edition. It aims at being a simple guide to public worship, suited to the varying needs of different parishes, and providing the clergy with something on which they can rely, 'as combining what is practical with faithfulness to the Catholic tradition as it has been received by the Church of England.' In this new edition the Directory has been carefully revised, particularly with reference to the directions contained in the 1928 Prayer Book, 'as being the most authoritative expression of the mind of the Church of England available in the present circumstances.'

Of Immortality and Other Thoughts, by the Rt. Hon. Lord Wrenbury, P.C. (John Murray; 3s. 6d. net), contains nearly a score of very brief disquisitions on a variety of religious and moral themes, such as life, faith, law, pleasures, war, and peace. They make no pretence to be exhaustive, but they are interesting as the reflections of a full and mature mind. The distinctive doctrines of the Christian faith receive a free and somewhat vague interpretation.

The notes for teachers on the 'International Lessons for 1932' have just appeared (National Sunday School Union; 4s. 6d. cloth, 3s. 6d. net paper), along with the *Pocket Notes* (2s. 3d. cloth, 1s. 9d. paper). The former are by Mr. J. E. Feasey, the latter by Mr. W. D. Bairn. We are familiar with the admirable methods of these publications, their full illustrations, their helpful counsel and their practical suggestions. The work is as good as ever, and nothing better could be wished.

In *Jesus of Galilee*, by the Rev. F. Warburton Lewis (Nicholson & Watson; 6s. net), we have what may be called a psychological life of Jesus. It is called on the jacket 'an appealing portrait of a *believable* Jesus,' and the author says of his own effort, 'we are trying to see Jesus living, trying to pass with him through the days and nights. We must not only see what he did but why he did it.' And so we are carried on from episode to episode in a quiet meditative survey of the inner life of the Master. We see the Cross not as Calvary, but as something He bore from the beginning. We see the Incarnation not as an act, but as something that was taking place all the time. The author shows real insight that illuminates many passages in our Lord's life, notably in the cases of the Baptism and the Lazarus episode. Sometimes he skates gently and almost invisibly over thin ice. Sometimes he is ingenious. But on the whole he has given us a devout, able, and enlightening study of the life of lives.

Thousands of men and women have been helped in their everyday Christian living by the 'Quiet Talks' of Mr. S. D. Gordon. They are published by the Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, and two new volumes have just been issued—*Quiet Talks on How to Pray* and *Quiet Talks on Difficult Questions*. They may be obtained in this country from Messrs. Oliphants Ltd., price 4s. net each. These addresses show all the qualities which have endeared Mr. Gordon to his public. He writes in the most simple, human, and interesting way.

For a competent introduction to the study of Aquinas we have seen nothing so excellent as *Foundations of Thomistic Philosophy*, by Father A. D. Sertillanges, O.P. (Sands; 3s. 6d. net). It contains an exposition of the great mediæval scholar's views on such essential points as Being and Knowledge, God, Creation, Providence, Nature and Life, the Soul, Morality. The translation by Father G. Anstruther has been very admirably done; only we speak of Albertus Magnus rather than Albert the Great and of the pseudo-Dionysius rather than the pseudo-Denys. An obvious *un* on page 86 has been rendered *one* in a context where *a* would be better.

Racial Segregation in South Africa, by Mr. Walter Aidan Cotton, B.A. (Sheldon Press; 2s. 6d. net), is a strong plea for the native in South Africa being allowed to develop his home life instead of being taken away to work in an environment that

is apt to sever him from his home altogether. The author crosses swords with General Smuts on the subject and does not seem to have the worst of it.

Few things are more needed than a good book of prayers for children. It is not sufficiently emphasized that the main purpose of the Sunday school is to teach children to *worship*. The prayers in Sunday schools are often unsuitable, generally too long and much more adapted to adults' needs. We have seen few (if any) books of prayers for young people that could be cordially commended. But honest appreciation may be expressed of one, *Common Prayer for Children*, compiled by Mr. A. R. Browne-Wilkinson (S.P.C.K.; 2s., in paper covers 1s.). It contains material for children's services 'for the guidance of parish priests and others who regard children's services as a training ground for the worship of the Church.' It is liturgical, but there is much in it that others than parish priests could adopt and use with advantage. The little book is wisely arranged and is likely to be useful in the best ways.

A book of another kind and with a totally different aim is *A Prayer Book for Boys and Girls*, compiled by Miss Margaret Cropper (S.C.M.; 2s. 6d. net). This is to give guidance for boys and girls themselves on how to pray, how to make prayer real. There are many short prayers in the book, but its chief value is its spirit and its helpful words about the way of prayer. A simple and beautiful little book.

Saint George's Service Book for Schools (S.P.C.K.; 2s. 6d. net) is a book of service compiled for use primarily in Saint George's School at Jerusalem, but is equally available for any other school. The services are very beautiful, partly poetical, partly Biblical, and partly catholic (in the wide sense). The book is the result of a testing experience in which the faults of a former effort have been corrected. It is worthy of warm praise.

What is an Anglo-Catholic? and what does he stand for? These questions are answered fully by the Rev. Kenneth D. Mackenzie in *Anglo-Catholic Ideals* (S.C.M.; 3s. 6d. net). The book is an earnest attempt to justify the Anglo-Catholic movement and its attitude to the Roman Church on the one side and other Churches on the other side. It would not be useful to enter into controversy on the issues raised by some of the author's statements. It will be sufficient to say that any one who wishes to know what the movement is and what its claims are will find these things defined

and vindicated by a writer who is always courteous and always interesting.

It would seem difficult to teach the art of story-telling. So much depends on personality and on good taste. But a great deal can be done to fit the ordinary teacher to do much better than he would do unaided. There are certain things which everybody can learn from the expert. Mrs. Bryant and Miss Clark have done much to help the ordinary teacher about stories generally. And now the Rev. W. J. May has conferred a real boon on the teacher of the Bible in Sunday and day schools by his volume, *Bible Stories and How to Tell Them* (S.C.M. ; 6s. net). It is divided into three parts. The first is general, 'The Art of Story-telling.' The second deals with the Bible story. And the third consists of twenty-seven Bible stories told as Mr. May thinks they should be told. The book is full of valuable hints, drawn obviously from experience. Of the book generally we would say it is the best of the kind we have seen.

The Approach to Religious Education, in Sunday School and Day School, by Mr. Basil A. Yeaxlee, Ph.D. (S.C.M. ; 4s. net, and in paper covers 2s. 6d. net), is a volume of lectures, originally delivered in the University of Birmingham. The aim of the writer is to help the teacher to relate his teaching, and himself, to the whole world of thought and action that is about him. The teacher must have a philosophy as well as a vocation. And so we have here several lines of approach to the main business, the biological approach, the psychological, the philosophical, the Biblical, and the theological. To all this is added a chapter on vocation and training. There are many wise and useful things said in these lectures. At certain points they are perhaps too general; the writer tells us, for example, that psychology shows how to do certain things, but he does not tell us how or with what actual results. The book, however, is both suggestive and inspiring.

How much should be broadcasted about sex? Who is right—the eminent doctor who said that 'the really nice people knew nothing about it till they were married' or, those who tell us stories of lives ruined by such ignorance? At any rate the Rev. Leslie D. Weatherhead has no doubts on the matter. Perfect frankness is his policy, and he carries it out in *The Mastery of Sex*, through psychology and religion (S.C.M. ; 5s. net). In this position he is aided and abetted by others, Dr. Marion Greaves (who writes a technical chapter), the Rev. Dr. A. H. Gray, and Dr. J. R. Lees, who write forewords, and Principal W. F. Lofthouse, who writes an epilogue. All these people bless the book and its frankness. And certainly it is frank, the boldest and plainest that has come our way. The author, for example, approves of contraceptives, and even tells his married readers where they may get information about them. The general question is a difficult one. Probably Mr. Weatherhead is right in his attitude. And if so, the thing could not be better done. The spirit of the book is clean. The subject is lifted up into an atmosphere where it ceases to appear questionable. And a great deal of wise counsel is given which would save much trouble if it were absorbed. This is a book to be given to and read by young married people. For such a purpose it would prove a great blessing.

The second volume of C. de B. Evans's *Meister Eckhart* (Watkins ; 12s. 6d. net) is now available. The first volume appeared seven years ago, and was noted in our columns. While the first consisted of translation of Pfeiffer's collections of material, the present, while it contains two important Tractates and some other pieces collected by Pfeiffer, includes works collected by Sievers and some items from a hitherto unpublished MS. dated 1440, formerly owned by Carl Schmidt of Stuttgart, who first revealed Eckhart to a world that had forgotten him for five centuries. The present volume is marked by the same high qualities as distinguished its predecessor.

The Ministry of Women: Past, Present, and Future.

BY MRS. T. GUY ROGERS, M.A., S.Th., ARCHBISHOP'S AND DIOCESAN LICENCE, BIRMINGHAM.

I. THE PAST.

AT the outset I wish to make clear the definition of the word 'ministry' in the sense contemplated in this article. The 'ministry of women' in common parlance can mean anything from nursing the sick to scrubbing floors, but I imagine that the terms of reference in the title of this article are to the ministry of women in the Church, and especially to that ministry which is connected in our minds with the actual services of the Church and the pastoral charge which is the inevitable concomitant.

For a study of the history of this special ministry of women we cannot do better than read through the Report of the Archbishop's Committee of 1919 entitled *The Ministry of Women* (S.P.C.K.). Here are put together excellent summaries of the work of deaconesses, virgins, and widows in the New Testament, as well as in the early centuries, and the history of the women religious in and after the Middle Ages. The Report ends with a résumé of modern developments, and specimens of various uses for the ordination of women to the diaconate. It also includes the lucid and detailed essay written by the late Dr. Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar, for the *Church Quarterly Review* of January 1899.

But for those who have neither time nor inclination to read this Report, I can only summarize its contents (with additions of my own) so that with a background of past history the reader can the more readily examine the present and prognosticate the future!

It is clear that our Lord made no sex distinction in the preaching of His message or in His conversion of individuals, but that, on the contrary, He shared with women some of His most intimate teaching, e.g. the conversation with the woman of Samaria, and the companionship of Mary and Martha. Women were privileged to be the first to receive the greatest news of all, the good tidings of the Resurrection, and it must be remembered that it was to a woman that the first intimation of the Incarnation was delivered. Women were destined to have a share in His life—at His birth, at His Calvary, and at His Resurrection.

On the other hand, no women found a place among the Twelve Apostles, nor at the institution of the Last Supper, but this fact may be explained by the conditions of the times. No woman in

those days would have had a hearing as an itinerant preacher. If the Twelve Apostles only shared in the memorial of the Last Supper, we must also remember that Mary offered up her own oblation and sacrifice of thanksgiving, which was accepted by our Lord. Some scholars see no reason to exclude women from the company of the disciples meeting behind closed doors (Jn 20¹⁹; cf. Lk 24³⁹), and therefore include them in the number of those who received the commission from our Lord—a commission which is generally supposed to be confined to the special ministry of clergy, or at any rate to accredited representatives of the Church.

On the Day of Pentecost and afterwards, women no less than men received the gifts of the Holy Spirit. In 1 Co 11⁵ S. Paul considers the case of a woman 'praying and prophesying with her head unveiled.' It is an open question whether the word *λαλεῖν* in 1 Co 14³⁴ means that a woman is not permitted 'to speak' (i.e. teach) or 'to chatter'! (cf. 1 Ti 2¹², *διδάσκειν*). It is possible that a woman was allowed to prophesy or pray extemporarily in a similar gathering to our prayer meetings, but not to stand up before the congregation as an accredited teacher. We must note, on the other hand, that the expression 'church' (*ἐκκλῆσία*) in the New Testament, cannot have the same connotation as is common nowadays, i.e. consecrated building, but describes a public gathering of the congregation, in contrast to a private group of Christians.

The first mention of any woman's office in the Church is that of Phœbe as a *διάκονος* (Ro 16¹), and it is important to notice that the primitive word 'deacon' is used of Phœbe rather than the later feminine and confusing *διακόνισσα* or deaconess. In the words of Bishop Lightfoot: 'Phœbe is as much a deacon as Stephen or Philip is a deacon.'¹ Later on, deaconesses seem to be recognized as a class of Church officials set apart to minister to those in distress (1 Ti 3¹¹). Widows formed a separate class (1 Ti 5⁹⁻¹⁰), and a list, or roll, of them was kept. There has been a great deal of confusion in the functions allotted to deaconesses, widows, and virgins, but, to put it succinctly, once more in the words of Bishop Lightfoot, 'the two offices of Deaconess and Widow had different starting-points,' the one being 'dis-

¹ Primary Charge.

tinctly ministerial' and the other 'distinctly eleemosynary.'¹ 'The widows, in other words, were the objects of care in the Church, whilst the deaconess existed in order to serve both them and other members of the Church, in such ways as women could serve better than men.'²

The widows, however, contributed their support of the Church in return for alms, by prayer, fasting, nursing, etc., and regular duties came to be entrusted to them. The consecrated virgins had a different origin, but they are liable to become merged and confused with the order of widows.

II. EARLY CENTURIES.

In the West, there is no evidence that the office of deaconess existed until the end of the fourth century. After this period the first mention is contained in the Acts of a Synod held at Nîmes in 394, which are genuine, but very little known. The diaconate for women is mentioned only in order to prohibit it. This outrage, as it was considered, must have been introduced from the East at a time when Gaul was opening up to the influence of the Eastern Church. From then onwards until the end of the twelfth century, prohibitions against orders for women recur frequently, but in spite of this discouragement names of a few deaconesses occur now and then on inscriptions and in records, but few and far between. By the time of Abailard (early twelfth century) the deaconess and the abbess had become identified, and the diaconate for women had been submerged in the wave of monastic life which swallowed up the independent life of women with it.

When we turn to the East we discover fuller evidence. In the first place, the two 'ministreae' mentioned by Pliny, who was also responsible for their torture, must clearly have held this office. In the second place, we have abundant mention of this office in disciplinary manuals, such as the Egyptian Ecclesiastical Canons, the Apostolic Didascalia of the third century, and the Apostolic Constitutions at the end of the fourth. This evidence has been excellently set forth in Professor Robinson's appendix to Miss Robinson's book, *The Ministry of Deaconesses* (1898).

The work of a deaconess is to minister to the sick, to visit in those homes which are unsuitable for the deacon, to visit and instruct catechumens, and especially to prepare candidates with the oil of anointing before baptism, though in some

canons they are forbidden to perform the actual ceremony. In the Testament of our Lord deaconesses are permitted to carry the sacred elements to sick women.

In the Apostolic Didascalia (c. 300) the Bishop stands in the place of God, the deacon in the place of Christ, and the deaconess in the place of the Holy Spirit, but by the time we reach the Apostolic Constitutions the deaconess is ranked after readers, singers, and doorkeepers. Yet it must be noticed that the rite of ordination prescribed for the deaconess, the sub-deacon, and the reader, is the same as that prescribed for the major orders. The deaconess is in Holy Orders and in the ranks of the clergy.

As regards the teaching authority of women in the Church, there is the ministry of prophesying, e.g. Philip's four daughters, and the responsibility entrusted to deaconesses of teaching catechumens; but finally, this teaching office seems to have been merged in that of the abbess, and in the wide sphere of educational influence which the convents exercised not only among women, but over the whole Church life of their day. We must not forget the power through their preaching both to men and women of the Nun Hildebrand and Catherine of Siena.

III. RECENT REVIVALS.

The diaconate for women had disappeared into the convent in company with the general seclusion of women at that period, but in sectarian bodies traces of this office can be found here and there on the Continent. At the Reformation Puritans were turning their minds back to ancient custom, but nothing was put into practice in England, and it is not until 1642 that we hear of a deaconess of an Independent congregation in Amsterdam, and the idea being introduced into this country.

In 1833, however, a different movement was set on foot by a Lutheran Pastor, Dr. Fliehn, who was inspired, in the first instance, by Elizabeth Fry to organize and train women to visit female prisoners, but whose ideas developed so far as to form a 'Society of Deaconesses' to perform work for the Church like the deaconess of early days. The status of these deaconesses, however, though great their number and useful their work, cannot be compared with the status of the 'woman-deacon' of ancient custom, for, while the modern society is a voluntary organization of laywomen, the ancient Order of Deaconesses belonged to the regular ministry, and had a certain

¹ Speech at York Convocation, 1884.

² *Ministry of Women*, p. 110.

status or 'character' as an accredited Order of the Church.

The Anglican Church, unfortunately, took to its arms this pseudo-order, and hailed it as its genuine offspring, without, however, conferring upon the new-found heiress any of the privileges or status to which the name of deaconess made claim. The result has been that rules of Convocation have been framed from time to time to regulate the organization and provide for episcopal supervision, but it has never been made clear whether the present deaconess is in Holy Orders, and whether she has an integral part in the regular ministry of the Church. None will own her, and she wanders about like an illegitimate child, seeking from her Mother Church the recognition of her traditional position as part of the threefold ministerial family.

IV. THE PRESENT.

What is the position of women in the present, and what are the opportunities for her work in the Church? Women since the War have explored so many new departments of life, that the Church cannot be excused from this inquiry. To take the Lambeth Report of 1920,¹ 'we run the grave risk of wasting a great power for spiritual good, . . . and also, of alienating from the Church, and even from Christianity, not a few of those able and high-minded women before whom . . . there open out careers of great and increasing responsibility.'

With this wastage in mind the Committee proceeds to investigate the opportunities which could be afforded to women as laywomen as well as through the diaconate. In Resolution 58 the Conference proposes that 'Opportunity should be given to women as to men (duly qualified and approved by the Bishop) to speak in consecrated and unconsecrated buildings, and to lead in prayer at other than the regular and appointed services of the Church.'

As for the diaconate, Resolution 47 states that 'the time has come when, in the interests of the Church at large . . . the Diaconate of Women should be restored formally and canonically, and should be recognized throughout the Anglican Communion.' Resolution 48, that 'The Order of Deaconesses is for women the one and only Order of the Ministry which has the stamp of Apostolic approval, and is for women the only Order of the Ministry which we can recommend that our Branch of the Catholic Church should recognize and use.'

This Resolution, as it can be seen, categorically denies any claim of women to the priesthood.

Further, the functions of a deaconess are laid down in Resolution 52 :

- (a) to prepare candidates for baptism and confirmation.
- (b) to assist at the administration of Holy Baptism ; and to be the administrant in cases of necessity in virtue of her office.
- (c) To pray with and give counsel to such women as desire help in difficulties and perplexities.
- (d) With the approval of the Bishop and the Parish Priest . . . (i) in church to read Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany, except such portions as are assigned to the Priest only ; (ii) in church also to lead in prayer and, under licence of the Bishop, to instruct and exhort the congregation.

The Report of the Committee adds that in their judgment 'the ordination of a deaconess confers on her Holy Orders.'²

These proposals were liberal and far-reaching, extending to women a wide scope and dignified status in the Church. We may ask how far have they been accepted, and in what numbers have qualified women come forward either as layworkers or as women deacons in the Church? The answer appears in the Lambeth Report of 1930, which frankly admits that 'the hopes underlying the action of 1920 have been but meagrely fulfilled. The number of women asking for ordination are comparatively small, and that far more women of the stamp and qualifications envisaged find scope for their gifts in other ways,'³ and this could be equally stated as regards the number of laywomen working for the Church between 1920 and 1930. What is the cause of this disappointing response?

Firstly, in relation to the preaching of qualified laywomen in church. The Resolutions of Lambeth 1920 were so modified by the Convocation of Canterbury (1923) and York (1925), that women preachers were limited to congregations of women and children, and so limited by fear and prejudice that they were usually confined to the lectern or the chancel steps in case they might desecrate the pulpit. However, in time this fear subsided, and whereas individual Bishops gave to women permission to preach to mixed congregations, so, too, the congregations became used to the 'outrage' upon the pulpit to such an extent that in some cases women have been granted permission to preach at

¹ Report of Committee, p. 100.

² P. 102.

³ Lambeth Report, 1930, p. 177.

the statutory services of morning and evening prayer. Qualified speakers, however, are as rare as enlightened Bishops, and at the moment more opportunity is taken of speaking at services in church to women and children than to those of mixed congregations.

The disappointing response of candidates to the diaconate can be explained by the following reasons :

- (1) That some women feel that they cannot enter an Order which is an end in itself—*sui generis*—while they are at the same time debarred from entering the priesthood on the same footing as the male deacons. This distinction implies sex discrimination and an inequality in spiritual matters which does not seem to correspond with the mind of our Lord. These women prefer to work or wait for the recognition of the principle of the equality of women with men in the ministry, and refuse to take as a final answer the Resolution of either Lambeth 1920 or 1930 that the Order of the Diaconate is the only Order which the Anglican Communion can recommend.
- (2) That the Lambeth Resolutions of 1920 have never been put into practice, so that the functions of a modern deaconess cannot be distinguished from those of an ordinary layworker. The deaconess has no further privileges conferred upon her, since the laywoman is also allowed to prepare candidates for baptism and confirmation, to baptize in cases of emergency, and to speak in consecrated buildings other than the regular and appointed services of the Church. There seems little point, in their argument, in becoming a deaconess, with permanent vows, when no one is sure of the status of the Order, and the service is lifelong. Better to remain a layworker with the same opportunities, and fewer vows ! and freedom if necessary to return to secular professions.

The ambiguous status of the deaconess is one of the chief obstacles to qualified women who wish to offer themselves for lifelong service in the Church. The revival of the Diaconate was 'hailed with joy' in 1920, but the revival seems in fact to be that of a minor order only, and not of an integral part of the threefold ministry. In the Resolutions passed by Convocation of Canterbury (1923) and York (1925) we read that 'it is desirable that a place for deaconesses should be found in the parochial and

diocesan Councils of the Church and in the National Assembly' (No. 14), but granted the desirability, the question is, where shall the deaconess sit in these bodies ?—Among the laity, as is the case at present, or among the clergy in Holy Orders, or solitary and alone by herself in a class *sui generis*. The deaconess is 'neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring,' and she is quite aware of the fact !

Moreover, in the Lambeth Report of 1930, it is suggested in Resolution 65 that authorization should be given 'to licensed Readers to administer the chalice at the request of the parish priest,'¹ but there is no suggestion that a deaconess, who is not only licensed but *ordained*, should perform a similar function in cases of necessity. Here is an obvious illustration of the sex distinction which still permeates the orthodox mind of the Church.

The question of the priesthood for women came before the Lambeth Committee on the Ministry of the Women, mainly through memoranda sent up by the organizations interested in the movement² *i.e.* the Anglican Group for the Admission of Women to the Priesthood, and the Society for the Ministry of Women (interdenominational). A majority of the Committee made answer that 'there are theological principles which constitute an insuperable obstacle to the admission of women to the priesthood, apart from all questions of expediency.' Others, who did not agree on the matter of principle, saw 'grave difficulties of a practical nature in the way of such admission.'³ In May 1931 a deputation from the Anglican Group waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, and application was made from various other quarters that His Grace should appoint a Committee to inquire into these theological principles, and also to consider (1) the relation of the Order of Deaconesses to the Threefold Order of the Ministry, and (2) the representation of the Order in the Councils of the Church. The Committee, however, has not yet been set up, and meanwhile, qualified women, once anxious to give their service to the Church, are looking round for other fields of less ambiguous scope and recognition.

The opportunity for the work of laywomen at the present time depends more upon the financial position of the parishes than upon the scope offered to the worker. There is an ever-growing number of clergy who would welcome layworkers of education and training into their parishes to organize clubs and guilds on modern lines, to train Sunday-school

¹ P. 60.

² *Women and Priesthood* (Longmans ; 1s. net).

³ P. 180.

teachers in the best educational methods of the day, to advise adolescent girls and parents in their difficulties, but very few parishes can provide the necessary funds to pay an adequate stipend. I might suggest that if such societies as the Church Pastoral Aid Society could step in to assist these enterprising parishes by raising the grant paid to women workers to a higher level, much additional help could be given to those clergy who cannot afford a curate. It is quite understandable, on the other hand, that, until a woman is permitted to celebrate the Holy Communion, an incumbent prefers to engage a curate, where possible, as the latter is more in a position to lighten his Sunday duties and enable him to take an annual holiday.

As regards the opportunities in communions other than Anglican, there are no women ministers in the Church of Scotland. But last May a petition that women be admitted to the Ministry and eldership was presented to the General Assembly of the Church. The petition was not refused, but was referred to a sub-committee to report on it to the next Assembly. Women are eligible as deacons, but the Deacons' Court has no legal and essential place in the hierarchy of the Presbyterian Church. In Scotland to-day there are two ordained women ministers—one is among the Congregationalists, the other is in the Presbyterian 'United Free Church (Continuing).'

In the Free Church Ministry of England :

- (a) The Presbyterian General Assembly agreed that there is no barrier in principle to the admission of women to the priesthood (cf. Presbyterian Church in America). Women elders in certain circumstances are commissioned to administer the sacrament of Holy Communion.
- (b) The Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1928 agreed that 'a woman who believes herself called of God to the Christian Ministry in our Church may offer under the same regulations as apply to men.'
- (c) In the Congregational Church the first woman was ordained in 1917, and the colleges for ministerial training are thrown open to women.
- (d) In Prussia the Vikarin has similar duties as those laid down by Convocation for our diaconate for women, but she is not authorized to take the regular Sunday services or to administer the sacraments. In Mecklenburg-Schwerin, however, she is allowed

under exceptional circumstances to administer them. In Alsace-Lorraine a woman can be received into the full pastorate.

V. THE FUTURE.

Provided the Lambeth Resolutions of 1930, relating to the functions of a Deaconess, are ratified by Convocation, there seems some hope of going forward, though there is a division of opinion as to whether women should refuse to come forward for admission to the diaconate, until it is stated openly that there is no reason in principle why they should not be also admitted to the priesthood, or whether they should make use of the only channel at present offered to them.

Some educated women, however, envisage the deaconess in a position more like that of the male deacon than is the case at present. (1) They would prefer to have the title of 'woman-deacon' rather than that of deaconess, since the former has the more primitive tradition. (Phœbe was a *διάκονος*.) (2) They demand a more human way of life, and a more modern and inconspicuous costume for everyday wear than is the custom at present, though they would keep naturally to an ecclesiastic dress for ministerial use in church. (3) It might be necessary to earmark a college for religious training on lines of study and preparation suitable to post-graduates, instead of, as is the custom at the present time, training women of all grades in the same institutions.

The future of the priesthood still lies in the dim distance. The Report of the Archbishop's Commission has first to make clear the theological principles which debar women from the office, and there are many objections to be met from those who argue against the proposal on the grounds of expediency. Briefly summarized, there is the argument of (1) *sex distinction*, based on either the supposed inferiority of women, or the traditional subordination of women to the authority and leadership of man. (2) There is the *psychological* argument that a man may find it difficult to accept the authoritative teaching of a woman, or to allow that she can stand before a congregation as a full representative of human nature. (3) There is the *physiological* argument that a woman cannot, at certain times, bear the strain involved in ministerial duties. (4) There is the *argument* based on Catholic custom, and the fear that this innovation would hinder reunion with the Roman and Greek Orthodox Churches.

An excellent little book just published, called

Questions and Answers concerning Women and Priesthood,¹ puts succinctly these several objections and the replies which answer or attempt to answer them, according as the reader's predilections lie.

Behind all this seeming agitation of women for recognition in the Church, there lies the true reason—the vocation of many who hear the call of God to serve Him in this capacity. To the memorandum 'Women and the Priesthood' are appended letters

¹ Louie Acres (Allenson ; 2s. net).

from seventeen women who have experienced the call of God and the sense of frustrated vocation. There must be many others who are not so articulate as Catherine of Siena, or who cry with Amos, 'The Lord hath spoken, who can but hear him?'

With Gamaliel, may it be possible for all of us to say: 'Refrain from these *women*, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot over-throw it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.'

In the Study.

Virginibus Puerisque.

Greatly Begin :
A New Year Address.

By THE REVEREND S. GREER, M.A., AYR.

'The beginning of the year.'—Dt II¹².

Did any of you get a gun at Christmas? If you did, have you ever wondered why it has such a long barrel? It looks very impressive when you play soldiers and 'present arms,' or go shooting bears with it slung across your shoulders. But what's the barrel for, except to trip you up when you're in a hurry? On a man-of-war you see great guns, sixty feet long, which can hit a target twenty miles away, and the big gleaming tubes of these monsters are made of that enormous length in order to give the shells which they fire a good straight start in the right direction. 'You run these twenty yards straight,' says the big gun, 'then off you go on your own.' That's why a rifle has a barrel, so that the bullet, slightly compressed as it goes through the bore, may be directed to its goal with absolute precision.

It's a great matter to make a good start. It's a tremendously important thing, I'm sure you agree, to be put into life through the right kind of home. I know it often means that you don't get to do just what you like. Often it is 'Don't do that,' 'Do this,' on every hand like gleaming steel sides hemming us in. Oh, to live in the country of Do-as-you-like where everybody goes as they please! Well, that's what life would be like if your parents should ever stop caring for you; they would just leave you alone. But since they love you, and are awfully keen you should do well, they

don't let you off. They insist on your learning to discipline yourself, and bring that temper of yours to heel, and think of other folk besides yourself. Dad's in an awful way if he finds you've been telling a lie, and Mother wouldn't sleep for nights if she thought you were mixing with a lot of slackers, or had got into a bad set at school. Yes, the home-folk are often strict, but it is their care for you, so that afterwards, when you are on your own, you may run straight, and go far, and hit your mark.

Here's a new year. Let us make a good start. You've often wished, haven't you, that you could begin all over again; so many things have gone wrong that you would give a lot to put right.

I wish there were some wonderful place
Called the Land of Beginning Again,
Where all our mistakes, and all our heartaches,
And all of our poor selfish grief
Could be dropped like a shabby old coat at the
door
And never put on again.

We would find there all the things we intended to do, but forgot; promises broken, duties we meant to attend to—to-morrow, and a host of other ghosts.

Well, here's the New Year. Let's begin at the beginning. I watched a little fellow putting on his vest; it was his very first waistcoat. No more jerseys for him; this was the real thing, with five buttons, and four pockets, and a strap at the back. But in his flurry he missed the top button-hole, and when he got to the bottom a distressed look grew upon his face, for no button-hole could he find for the last lonely button. He took them out one by

one trying to retrieve his mistake, but it wasn't till he got back to the first button, and *began* right that he *ended* right.

To-day may be the Land of Beginning Again, and beginning right. Lots of things we are ashamed to remember; heaps of things we can hardly bear to hold in our mind—they almost scald us. Let us to-day come back to the beginning, to the point before we had messed up things, and pick up the track again there. God says, 'I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions: return unto me.' Shall we not all believe it true, and act as if it were true?

I'm glad there *is* such a wonderful place
Called the Land of Beginning Again.

Giving a 'Wing-up.'

BY THE REVEREND R. OSWALD DAVIES, LEICESTER.

'When I fall, I shall arise.'—Mic 7⁸.

Did you read some time ago of the gracious act which was done by the people of Vienna? The swallows had left the shores of England and other northern countries of Europe on their annual migration to the sunny South. They had said good-bye to summer in England and had set out with great courage and hope for sunnier lands. Reaching Vienna in Austria, they were taken quite by surprise, for there they encountered rain, boisterous winds, and snow! Snow covered most of the Austrian Alps and the temperature was even below freezing-point. This was too much for them. They were hungry and chilled; they became so daunted that they failed to proceed farther on their flight. They sought the shelter of the farmsteads around Vienna, and even of the corridors of some of the big buildings. There they lay huddled together, chirping weakly for food.

Then came the good Viennese people to their rescue. When they saw those little migrants stranded on their journey to the sunny South, they said, 'Why not give them a "lift" southward, or even a "wing-up"?'

Nothing would do but the smartest and most up-to-date means of transport for these little creatures of the air. Then and there a number of aeroplanes were chartered to help the birds, and what could have been more appropriate? The swallows were tenderly gathered together, placed in comfortable cages, and each of them was given a free air-ticket across the Alps as far as the city of Venice! Twenty-seven thousand swallows were in this way given a 'wing-up' as far as Venice.

'How I wish I had been there,' I can hear some of you say.

At Venice they found a blue sky and a temperature of eighty-two degrees. That was better, and a most welcome change. By this time the passengers were quite chirpy and perky once again. They were released from their cages, and for a short time they circled around the air-port, chirping their thanks to the good Viennese people. Then they resumed their flight to the sunny clime of Africa, and let us hope that no further mishap overtook them, but that they reached their destination in safety.

1. And I thought, when I read that story, what a fine thing it is to *have* a 'wing-up' in life.

There are times when we all need it, and, thank God, when we have had it. Think how delighted those swallows must have been when they were carried over the Alps. They had done their best; but the elements had beaten them, and they could go no farther. They wondered what was going to happen to them, when—hey, presto! they were over the Alps, in lovely Venice, and away again towards the South.

You girls and boys are in particular need of a 'wing-up' just now. Your parents, friends, and teachers are all there to help you forward. The Christian Church, the Home, the Hospital, the School and College also exist for this one purpose—to give you a grand 'wing-up' in life. Bunyan's 'Pilgrim' was always getting into trouble in spite of his best; but there was always a good friend to help him out of his difficulties, and in the end Christian safely reached the Celestial City. We want you, too, to reach the goal you have set before you.

2. It is, however, a finer thing to *give* a 'wing-up' in life. It was delightful to the swallows to *have* a 'wing-up'; but still more delightful was it to the Viennese people to have given it. To have a 'wing-up' is good; but to give one is better. We are indeed helped that we might be a help to others. Jesus our Master was in this our perfect example. He was always giving a 'wing-up' to poor unfortunates who had been maimed on life's way—the sick, the lame, and the blind.

He spoke the Parable of the Good Samaritan who picked up the wounded wayfarer on the Jericho road, and He Himself was that Samaritan. Jesus gave to the whole world a mighty 'wing-up.' It was going from bad to worse until He came. He picked up this wounded world, set it on its feet again, and He is doing it still.

Shall we not follow His example? At Christmas-tide by cheering some poor girl or boy? In

summer-time, by sending or helping to send some slum child to the glorious seaside? Is it not worth while?

The Christian Year.

FIRST SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY.

'Jesus in the midst.'

And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him.'—Mt 2¹¹.

1. *Christ is in the midst of serious inquiry.*—The history of man has been the history of inquiry. The first thing the child does on the margin of life is to ask a question—and that is the last thing old age does as it faces the Great Unknown. He who has never inquired has never learned, and there may be more wisdom in one interrogation than in twenty declarations. But to be fruitful, inquiry must be serious.

'Where is he that is born king of the Jews . . . that we may worship him.' So said the 'wise men.' But Herod asked the same question, and gave the same reason for asking it—yet, what was reverence in the mouths of the Magi was blasphemy on the lips of Herod. It is the spirit and purpose of our questions that reveal us. One person will come to Calvary with the curiosity of a tourist, and another will come broken-hearted, in search of a Saviour—both will ask the way, but only one will really arrive, for it is only humble and penitent and reverent inquiry that will lead to the discovery of Christ.

There are some well-meaning people who regard all doubt as infidelity, and all questioning as trifling, but obviously their understanding of the human heart, and consequently their sympathies are very limited. They should remember that even God asks questions, and should learn that there may 'live more faith in honest doubt than in half the creeds.' Serious and reverent inquiry is the way to the highest knowledge, and Christ will always be found 'in the midst' of such inquiries.

2. *Christ is in the midst of spiritual devotion.*—'For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' What store we lay by the crowd! We count success or failure by counting heads—a very unsafe way of reckoning. But Christ counts hearts, and where He can find two whose hearts go out to Him in reverent devotion, He will be 'in the midst' of them. And so is spiritual devotion encouraged in out-of-the-way places. Little churches in the country are promised the Saviour's presence, and

if He be in the midst, no church is weak, or poor, or isolated, for that presence makes the smallest gathering strong, and rich, and integral.

Renwick says that oftentimes, when he had been out among the bogs on the Scottish mountains, hunted over the mosses, with the stars of God looking down upon the little congregation, they had had more of God's fellowship than bishops had ever had in their cathedrals, or than they themselves had ever had in their kirks, when, in brighter days, they had worshipped God in peace.

But we must not fail to mark the condition of His promised presence. He does not say that where two people are, or three, or more, He will be there, but only where such are gathered 'in his name'; and that refers not to the outward mention of that Name, but to the possession of its spirit. To be gathered 'in his name' means, according to His nature and for His glory; to such, and to such only, is His presence vouchsafed. If He be not present there may be a crowd, but not a church; and if He be present, there will be a church, though there be no crowd.

3. *Christ is in the midst of human misery.*—'Where they crucified him, and two others with him, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst.' This moving scene is both literal and figurative; historical and symbolical. Jesus was actually crucified between two thieves, but the fact is also a revelation and a gospel.

It was a charge brought against Jesus that He companied with publicans, that He ate and drank with sinners, and He did not deny but defended the charge. 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.' Religious respectability moves away from the slums, and looks askance at thieves and drunkards and harlots, but Jesus is 'in the midst' of them without being contaminated by them. He is not there because He has any sympathy with their sin, but because He would save them from it. He may not entirely succeed. He did not on Calvary, for while one of the thieves repented, the other railed on Him. Yet He did not get down from the Cross as He was bidden. It would have been a sad day for a world of sin if He had. He chose then, and chooses now, to be 'in the midst.'

But sin brings suffering, and the crosses on Calvary were the symbol of it. Yet Jesus is 'in the midst' of that also, His suffering, and ours. He drank the cup of suffering to its dregs, and bids us say whether there is any sorrow like unto His sorrow. To those who, like the penitent thief, turn to Him in the midst of their sin and suffering and sorrow, He gives pardon, and courage and

hope, and so we are bidden 'sorrow not even as others who have no hope.' Jesus 'in the midst' is the only hope for the sin and suffering of our time. Suffering must either soften or harden us. It had both effects on Calvary, though Christ was equally near each of the sufferers, and was there for them both. And if the scene on Calvary tells of sin and suffering, it speaks to us also of despair. These men had outraged not only Divine but human law, and were brought to the just consequences of their guilt, but when human law closed the iron gates against them, Divine love opened a golden gate for them. There need be no final despair so long as Christ is 'in the midst.'

4. *Christ is in the midst of heart bewilderment.*— 'And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.' As it was then, it is now, He is 'in the midst' of all bewildered souls. There are some who have been put to intellectual bewilderment. Some friend in whom we had utter confidence has failed us. Some Christian whose praise was in all the churches has fallen deeply into sin. Some loved one who was dearer to us than life, has been cut off, perhaps in the prime of life. Our best endeavours and sacrificial service have been ill-required, and have ended, apparently, in failure. We are startled and shocked at the great and grave problems of life which press on all sides. Let this glad news be everywhere proclaimed, that Christ is in the midst of all intellectual bewilderment, and He is saying, if we would but hear Him, 'Peace be unto you.'

But others are suffering from spiritual bewilderment; the Bible perplexes them; their own complex natures perplex them; their chequered spiritual experience perplexes them; the wider problems of spiritual life perplex them, and there pervades their spirits a great fear. This is relieved, perhaps, in some measure, by Christian fellowship in some upper room, yet that fellowship only reveals how widespread is the perplexity. Into the midst of all such Jesus comes with His message of peace and cheer, and He will to-day, as then, give a rock-like faith and a lion-like courage to men who are in the grip of fear.

5. *Christ is in the midst of Christian testimony.*— 'And in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man.' In Mt 18²⁰ we saw a few believers gathered together in the Divine Name, and Jesus 'in the midst.' It is a picture of what we call the little churches, the weak, the isolated, the struggling churches scattered up and down the world. But here is a very different view. There was vouchsafed to the seer of Patmos a vision of

the Universal Church in her capacity of witness-bearer. This Universal Church is represented by the countless Churches of all denominations, countries and ages, but all are regarded as possessing and distributing light. Our Lord, when on earth, had said to His disciples, 'Ye are the light of the world,' and now from heaven He regards them in the same capacity, and, as in former days He was in the midst of that little flock, so now also He is 'in the midst of the candlesticks,' the Master-light of all our seeing and serving.

This revelation of Christ 'in the midst' of His Universal Church is most impressive, for it tells of His omnipresence and adequacy. He does not say that He is in the centre of His Church, though it is true He is central, but that He is 'in the midst.' The centre is local, but the midst is pervasive; the centre is geometrical, but the midst is mystical. A lamp may be in the centre of a room, but the light is in the midst. A rose tree may be in the centre of the garden, but the fragrance is in the midst. Each of us, regarded physically, is local, but our influence is in the midst. And so Jesus is 'in the midst' of His true Church everywhere, all-penetrating, energising, satisfying.¹

SECOND SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY.

Failure that Succeeds.

'I have laboured in vain.'—Is 49⁴.

'Forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.'—1 Co 15⁵⁸.

Life is a struggle. In every department and province of life men are struggling, straining every nerve to win. There are prizes for the successful, and with all their wits and with all their might men are struggling to obtain them.

In the struggle of life, however, it is given to very few to achieve conspicuous success. The majority miscarry. Their dreams are magnificent, but they are not realised. Robert Louis Stevenson has put the case strongly in his *Christmas Sermon*. 'There is one element in human destiny,' he writes, 'that not blindness itself can controvert: whatever else we are intended to do, we are not intended to succeed. Failure is the fate allotted. It is so in every art and study: it is so above all in the continent art of living well.'

Now what is the meaning of this? Are we really doomed to fail—unreservedly and utterly? Is our destiny simply 'to be beaten and baffled'? For ourselves, we believe that there is such a thing as 'failure that succeeds.'

¹ W. Graham Scroggie, in *The Scottish Pulpit*, 171.

1. To begin with, paradoxical as it may sound, the very fact of failure implies success of some sort. For man fails only as he rises in the scale of being. It is just as the poet teaches :

In man there's failure only since he left
The lower and unconscious forms of life.

There is no such thing, of course, as failure in the non-human realm of Nature. The mountain does not fail, and the tree does not fail, and the animal does not fail. There is not a note of failure in the morning song of the birds in the trees. And even when we come to man, we must admit that it takes high qualities to fail on a grand scale. The mean little commonplace man has his mean little commonplace ideal, and he achieves it without much difficulty.

That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it.

Or, even if he misses what he aims at, his frustration scarcely deserves to be dignified with the name of failure. But go on now to the man with the noble ambition, the man with the sublime ideal, the man who can be satisfied with nothing but the best, whether his line be literature, or art, or science, or statesmanship, or morals, or religion, and here indeed you find the failure. The thing is unavoidable. For the loftier the man's standard, the less is his chance of reaching it. His 'yonder,' as Goethe says, is never 'here.' He is simply bound to fail. But do we not see that such failure is deeply rooted in real success? It is only the man who has triumphed over the brute, only the man who has risen victoriously to the loftier ranges of life and manhood, that can complain that he has failed. A noble failure is a finer, and a greater, and, in the truest sense, a more successful thing than a mean success.

2. It is seldom that one comes across a failure that is total. There never was a brave attempt which did not achieve somewhat, though it may have missed the object that was particularly aimed at. Always there was something gained, something profitable, and something which would never have been gained had it not been for the endeavour which appeared to end in a fiasco. A French poet has given us a little parable on this subject in a poem entitled 'Grand Plans.' He tells how in early youth he aspired to write an epic; but gradually, as the years rolled on, the epic was abridged to a tragedy, then the tragedy to an ode, then the ode to a little song, and finally even the song dwindled down to a quatrain.

And the same principle obtains in the higher spiritual sphere. Consider the ideal of the saint—to be perfect even as the Father in heaven is perfect. What mortal man can compass so transcendent an ideal? How certain, how inevitable, must be the failure of him who seeks to realize it! Yet is not this pursuit of the unattainable the very spring of all the virtues of the purest sainthood? The hope, the prayer, the strong desire, the passion for the infinite, become, as it were, consolidated into the fabric of the Christian's character; and although he does not reach the longed-for paradise of perfection, yet by reason of his endeavour—the very endeavour that always fails—he is not far from the Kingdom of God.

3. Few of us really know whether we fail or whether we succeed! Is it not the fact that the greatest results of our life and work are almost always hidden from us? How often do we cry out that our labour has been in vain, just when we are proving ourselves most signally successful! Surely this is a matter of ordinary experience. Think of Virgil in despair directing that his immortal work should be burned after his death. Think of Calvin, near his end, declaring to those around him, 'All that I have done has been of no value, and I am a miserable creature.' And did not St. Paul himself, after all his miraculous achievements, tremble lest in the end he should be found to have been a useless worker? It is curious indeed to observe such successful and serviceable men so ready to echo Isaiah's lament and to rate their wonderful accomplishments at practically nothing. What do we conclude from this? Is not the conclusion obvious—that the thing which we are least capable of estimating aright is the success or failure of our own life and work? We toil for some great end; but when the result that we expected does not come just in the form in which we expected it, or at the time when we expected it, we accuse ourselves of inadequacy. But if our toiling has been faithful, God—and sometimes history too—will pass a different verdict. A story is told concerning Robertson of Brighton, who, dying in his thirty-seventh year, abused, misrepresented, and still comparatively obscure, seemed to many to have ended an unusually promising career in utter failure. Years afterwards a Brighton tradesman testified that he kept a portrait of the preacher in the room behind his shop, and that, whenever he was tempted to some shady trick of business, he went and looked on the face in the picture, and then felt that he could not do it.

4. Let it be granted that we have failed utterly.

Yet failure itself may be made the instrument of success. 'What is defeat?' cried Wendell Phillips, in one of his speeches. And his answer was, 'Nothing but education: nothing but the first step to something better.' Failure may teach us the way to succeed; for, by revealing to us our faults, it may stimulate us to correct them. By the failure of wrong theories the thinker who is in earnest may be guided towards the truth. By the failure of bad methods the practical man may discover the better way of doing things. And so it is also in morals and religion. 'A past error,' it has been said, 'may urge a grand retrieval.'

To recognize then the possibilities of failure is a primary necessity of our daily life. For we are all failures, more or less; we have all tripped and stumbled and broken down; and unless we hold on to the truth that a man may fail and still succeed, we must continually be exposed to one of two imminent dangers. The first is the temptation to lower our standard, to cheapen our ideal, to desist from all attempt to take the highest line about things. But that is the real failure—failure of the most fatal kind. 'The only failure a man ought to fear,' as Felix Holt says in the novel, 'is failure in cleaving to the purpose he sees to be best.' The second danger is loss of hope and loss of heart. The ideal may not be abandoned, but it is pursued without enthusiasm. Life loses its swing and go. No high effort really fails. That is a conviction that puts grit into a man. We will keep up our courage, though everything seems to be going wrong with us. We will fight the good fight fairly through to the finish. We will run out the race, whether winning or losing.

And remember that, even when things are at their worst, 'man's extremity is God's opportunity.' The hours when we are down, the hours in which we feel that we simply cannot do anything more—they are the very hours of the living God, the very hours when God most draws near to us with His almighty power, and does for us all that we cannot do ourselves.¹

SEPTUAGESIMA.

Seeing the Father.

'Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father?'—Jn 14⁹.

In these words we can discern not only the thoughts, but also the feelings of Jesus, and we

shall often understand His thoughts better if we feel with Him. He is *disappointed*. 'Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip?' Nevertheless He is still *confident*. 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.' And accordingly He is *surprised*. 'How sayest thou then, Shew us the Father?' Disappointment, confidence, surprise—all those emotions are blended in this claim that a Divine revelation, sufficient and satisfying, has been given in Him.

1. *Jesus' disappointment*.—Two reasons for it may be suggested. (1) Jesus had brought His disciples into immediate contact and intimate communion with Himself. He had made them His intimates and His confidants. He had not concealed His inner life from them, but had made His spirit absolutely transparent to them. Doubtless there was a holy of holies of His fellowship with God into which even they were not allowed to enter; but the glory of the God-presence there shone through all reserve and restraint into the holy place of His intimacy and confidence with them, and even streamed into the outer court of His teaching and training. The false man may make his life so skilfully a play-acting that from what appears upon the stage men may not even suspect what is going on behind the scenes. Even the good man has imaginations and impulses which his respect for himself, and his regard for others compel him to conceal and repress. Jesus had nothing to conceal, and by His very vocation almost everything to reveal. If God dwells within the soul as He is never fully seen in the life, and if Jesus was the revelation of God, His inner life was no private possession but a universal benefaction, which He did not and could not withhold from those whom it was meant to bless. When we lay aside our natural reserve and give another our full confidence, is there any disappointment keener than that we feel when we discover that we have laid bare our heart in vain? May we not suppose that Jesus felt that disappointment as keenly?

(2) The life which He had thus put within the reach of the knowledge and the understanding of His disciples was one of which a total impression could be formed, for it was so constantly impressive. The fickle and the wilful man cannot be known and understood, for the impression he gives one day may be taken away the next. The truer and better a man is, with one inspiring motive, one compelling purpose, one definite direction in his life, the more easy is knowledge and understanding. It was Jesus' meat and drink to do His Father's will. All His thoughts were moulded by one spirit of

¹ F. H. Dudden, *The Delayed Victory*, 45.

truth; all His feelings moved by one impulse of love; all His deeds were directed to one purpose of the glory of God in the good of man. If our consistency is doubted, are not we disappointed? So, too, was Jesus.

2. *Jesus' confidence.*—Had Jesus' judgment of Himself depended on the opinion of men regarding Him, His disappointment with His disciples would have shaken His confidence in Himself. For how often does a man begin to distrust himself when others show any doubt of him. But, if we read the gospel record carefully, we shall discover that Jesus' confidence grew as popularity waned and opposition waxed. He meets Philip's request with this assurance that no other theophany than Himself is needed or can suffice—'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.' Self-confidence is not usually regarded as an admirable trait. How can that be an excellence in Jesus which is generally a defect in other men? We must not cut the Gordian knot by at once appealing to His Divinity, as His Divinity was revealed in perfect humanity.

(1) Self-confidence is generally so objectionable because it is unjustified. It rests on ignorance and not knowledge of self. Jesus both knew Himself, and was as He knew Himself. The judgment of the Church has confirmed His self-judgment.

(2) There is a humility which as unreal, because unrelated to truth, is just as objectionable. A man should be true and just to himself as well as to others; and he should not libel himself in speech, manner, or conduct to others. It is better for a man to under- than to over-estimate himself; but exaggeration in either direction is equally marked by falsity. A man may fail by this false humility to do the work, give the example, or wield the influence for which he is fitted and God intended him. The best use of powers depends on the true knowledge of the possession of them. Jesus knew Himself, and must judge Himself as Son of God.

(3) The nature of a man's work determines the degree of confidence he must hold in his fitness for it and call to it. The harder the task a man must face, the greater the trust in his power to accomplish it he must command. No battles would be won by the general doubtful of his strategy. It was Jesus' vocation to reveal God as Father; how could He make men certain of God as Father, unless He was Himself confident that He as Son knew God, and was able to inspire others with this confidence in Himself? The world's certainty of God's Fatherhood waited on His confidence in His own Sonship.

(4) His relation to God as Son was one of such constant dependence and entire submission, as well

as intimate communion, that His confidence was not so much self-confidence as confidence in God. He was sure of Himself only as He was sure of God. So, too, the Christian, confessing his own insufficiency apart from God, may yet boast his sufficiency in God. When Paul exclaimed, 'I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me,' he was not applauding himself, but adoring Christ. So Jesus in His confidence as Son was glorifying His Father.

3. *Jesus' surprise.*—'How sayest thou then, Shew us the Father?' Jesus feels, and cannot but feel surprise that Philip has not discovered the truth so certain to Himself. He who loved freely, trusted fully, hoped firmly, could not understand the lack of love, faith, hope in the disciples, which hindered their knowledge and understanding of Himself. If His perfection was a barrier to their understanding of Him, their imperfection was a barrier to His understanding of them. By His insight He often knew what they were thinking and feeling; but nevertheless their inner life was often a perplexity to Him. To God surely iniquity remains a mystery. A good man when he witnesses some forms of evil of which he himself would be incapable is forced to cry out, 'Oh, how could he do it?' It was no defect in Jesus, but an excellence, that His attitude to God, so different from the attitude of the disciples to Himself, made their attitude a surprise.

Has our Lord and Saviour the same ground for being surprised at our lack of love, faith, or hope regarding Him? Have we frustrated His constant efforts to reveal God to us, and to redeem us unto God? If we confess such failure, should we not further press the question whether it is because our religion is a second-hand influence of the Church, and not a first-hand experience of Christ Himself? Only as we make the venture of faith in Christ shall we know Him as the Son of God, see in Him the Father, and be so satisfied that we shall not desire any other revelation of God.¹

Thou seemest human and divine,

The highest, holiest manhood, thou:

Our wills are ours, we know not how;

Our wills are ours, to make them thine.

SEXAGESIMA.

The Way of Love.

'Covet earnestly the best gifts: and yet shew I unto you a more excellent way.'—1 Co 12³¹.

In all our hearts there is a very deep and strong desire that we should have peace among the nations.

¹ A. E. Garvie, *The Master's Comfort and Hope*, 103.

It is one of the most recent charges made against the Church that her will to peace is not nearly so evident as was her will to war. And yet it is true that whenever we preach Christ we are preaching peace—"Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, to men goodwill." We crown Him as the Prince of Peace. Whenever we declare the evangel, we are talking about peace—that of God, the peace the world can never give and never take away. Whenever we preach Christ we are talking about peace of conscience, through the peace-speaking blood of the Lord. But don't let us forget that whenever we preach Christ, we preach One in whom is neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian or Scythian, bond or free. We preach the brotherhood of man.

The text unites the Spirit of the Lord with the thought of peace that is in every heart to-day. In all the churches that Paul founded there was not a single one that had such a variety of gifts as had the Church at Corinth. Had they only felt that they were one, what a wonderful Church it would have been! But instead of that they were jealous, they were covetous, there was strife, there was party division, there was war. Paul's heart was almost breaking. How it weighed down that gallant soul, how it led him to his knees.

Then he comes, led by the Holy Ghost, and he says, 'Brothers, there is only one way if you are ever going to have peace.' Like a bird singing at heaven's gate, he sings it in the thirteenth chapter. If you must covet, covet the best gifts, but for you there is only one way, that is the way of love. It was an extraordinarily bold thing for Paul to write to Corinth a chapter about love, for Corinth was the most sensual city in the world, and to every Corinthian love was just immoral. And then Paul comes and he says, 'Children, I am not talking about love like that (he has got to coin a new word to express it), it is goodwill, it is brotherhood, it is co-operation, it is something that thinks no evil, never vaunts itself, is not puffed up, that beareth all things, that believeth all things, that hopeth all things.' Well now, don't you see, that great argument which applied to Corinth applies equally to the nations of the world, and applies to them just for this reason, that every nation has its peculiar gift. By the law, of course, of their national history, by the influence of soil and climate, by their peculiar struggle for existence, by the kind of scenes that they look upon, every nation, in the ordering of God, has its peculiar gift. The Hebrew people had their gift: it was an awful sense of God. The Greek people had their gift, an exquisite appreciation of the beautiful. The Roman people

had their gift, the splendid gift of law and order, the power for colonizing the great world.

Paul just comes to us, or, if we like it, the Spirit of God comes to us, and He says, 'If you want to covet, covet, but always covet the best gifts.' Don't let us covet the lands of Germany, the colonies of Germany; let us covet the thought and poetry of Goethe. But with all our coveting there is only one way, and it is the way of loving, willing co-operation; it is love, as Paul sings it in the thirteenth chapter. Paul was one of the greatest statesmen who ever lived. He had a massive and majestic intellect, he had a disengaged heart; he never strove for party, he had a vision that was imperial of the world. Paul spent his life travelling up and down seeing the problems at first hand, moving from country into country, and then from city into city, and yet Paul—statesman, man of sober intellect—gets up and says, 'Brother, there is only one way, and that is the way of love.' In many a lesser circle this is exactly what has happened, and if it has triumphed in the lesser circles, why should it not triumph in the great one of humanity?

Once, at home love was subordinate. When the family emerges on to the page of history it is not love, it is force, that is supreme. A man then, when he wanted to win a wife, did not win her by the ways of love, but went out and killed somebody and brought home the scalp upon his belt. Or in other countries, in those far days when a man desired to win a wife, he did not woo her in a loving way; he captured the woman in a raid. Similarly, the right of the father over his child: it began by being unlimited by love—witness the story of Abraham, who could slaughter Isaac. And even in ancient Rome the father's power included the right of murdering his child. (Thank God it very rarely happened, because the heart is bigger than law.) There it was, written in the laws of early Rome, that a father, if he wanted, could kill his child. And the point is, don't you see, that even down to history it was not love that was supreme at home, it was brute force. And then came the Lord Jesus Christ breathing His spirit on the home. We who have had the inestimable blessing of a Christian home, has it not been a magnificent success?

Or again, take the sphere of school. There was a time, not so long ago, when school was ruled by force. Somebody has said that an unwhipped child was regarded as a missed opportunity. Then came a great schoolmaster like Dr. Arnold: Dr. Arnold on fire for his Master, and he loved the boys

with his whole heart, and he honoured them, he trusted them; and now to-day into all our schools has spread the spirit of love, goodwill, co-operation; and who is going to tell us that it has not been a magnificent success? Why, a hundred years ago nobody ever could have dreamed of a little girl going willingly to school. Shakespeare, who knew things, does not he talk of the schoolboy 'creeping like snail unwillingly to school'?

One other sphere should be mentioned—that of the mission field. And in order that it may be evident, suppose we think of Livingstonia. There is a book of Dr. Elmslie's (it is a little out of date nowadays) called *Among the Wild Ngoni*, and there we read that before Christ came—and Dr. Elmslie is a shrewd son of Caithness and never the man who would venture to exaggerate—the ruling powers were force and fear and fraud. Love—it was never dreamed of. And the result was, life was just a hell for the women and also for the men. There was no security; it was a life of terror. And then Christ came where force and fear and fraud ruled, and to-day love, not sentiment, is the ruling power in Livingstonia.

In the circle of the home love has been tried, and triumphed. In the circle of the school love has been tried, and triumphed. In great regions like beautiful Livingstonia love has been tried, and triumphed. And yet men will rise up and say to the whole world, It is just a dream; don't try it, it is no use. Surely it is. Will we not support whole-heartedly the League of Nations? Will we not make evident our will for peace, just as we did our will for war? Will we not to-day take our stand on the side of disarmament? And, above everything, will we not ask, pray, and will, for the coming of His Kingdom, which is love? ¹

QUINQUAGESIMA.

The Indwelling Kingdom.

'The kingdom of God is within you.'—Lk 17²¹.

1. The reason why the superficial miss the originality of Jesus is because He was supremely normal. His originality is sometimes so subtly simple that all the centuries yet have missed it. And amongst the most original and revolutionary of all Christ's teaching is His teaching about the Kingdom of God. The ages have built up enormous edifices of tradition and dogma out of what He did not say, or did not say in that way; but they have often contrived to miss the extraordinary

¹ G. H. Morrison, *Morning Sermons*, 90.

vitality, simplicity, and originality of some of His essential teaching. There is nothing the world dislikes so much as originality. It compels every new idea to fight for its life. It offers incense on the altar of the god of things as they are, and is especially distrustful if the originality is in the direction of simplicity—as all the originality of Jesus was. He simplified God: He simplified life: He simplified death: He simplified religion: He simplified the Kingdom of God. But the ages erected the Church on the field of the Kingdom, and the Kingdom itself remains largely forgotten. The Church is an agent of the Kingdom. It has frequently been represented as a substitute for it, or as identical with it. But, important as the Church is, the Kingdom is much more important, and always the chief concern of Jesus was with the Kingdom. And so the progress of the Kingdom of God has come to be identified with all the familiar data of 'observation'—or, as the margin has it, 'outward show'—numbers, orders, rites, and forms—all the very things that Christ came to distinguish it from.

2. 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: for the kingdom of God is within you.' 'Within you'—not primarily 'in your midst,' as the margin allows and many modern commentators insist. The Greek preposition 'within' is always used in contradistinction to 'without.' And that is the exact antithesis that Christ is here making and that the Christian ages have so persistently ignored. Christ came not so much to rescue religion from the petrification of externalities, sacrifices, propitiation, formalism, and all the minutiae of Pharisaism, but rather to reveal an entirely new conception of religion altogether. Of course it is true for Him that the Kingdom of God is in your 'midst.' But that was always true, though, in the sense in which Christ intended it, it was almost entirely ignored. The Pharisees had asked Jesus when the Kingdom of God should 'come.' Their meaning is obvious. They were thinking of the millennial cataclysm. And Christ's answer is not merely an answer to the Pharisees, but an answer to all time. When Christ says 'The Kingdom of God is within you,' it includes the implications of 'in your midst,' and means, of course, that the Kingdom of God is not some future cataclysm, but is here now. It is in your midst, because it is 'in you'—a matter of the soul, of personality, of sheer inward spirituality.

3. What, then, is the Kingdom of God? It is the whole spiritual territory where the kingship of God prevails. It is every phase of human life—religion,

knowledge, science, art, worship, business—where the kingship of God is acknowledged. And yet kingship is not the right word to denote the essential spiritual quality of God's Kingdom. In all Christ's references to the Kingdom of God He never spoke about God as King. The ruler of this Kingdom of Christ's was always 'The Father.' Christ not only never spoke of God as King, but He hardly ever spoke about 'God' at all. The Kingdom of God centres about a Father. That is vital, though often overlooked.

Studdert Kennedy was not far from the truth when he said that a good deal of mediæval theology had got God mixed up with the devil. But the Christianity of Christ simply falls to pieces, logically and dynamically, apart from the undeviating centrality—and the exclusive implications—of Fatherhood in God.

The supreme need of the age is true teaching about God—a God who cannot be less than the Father of Christ: a God, moreover, who is not dwarfed and left behind by His own universe—a God who can be equated with the universe as it is, not as it was conceived two thousand, or even two hundred years ago.

For the simple truth of the matter is that God is a name but not a living reality to this age: an intellectual peg on which to hang the beginnings of thought, or not even that. He is still embalmed in creeds, but He is not where Christ placed Him—the Father-centre of the universe and of all life.

As wider skies broke on his view,
 God greateden in his growing mind.
 Each year he dreamed his God anew,
 And left his older God behind:
 He saw the boundless scheme dilate
 In star and blossom, sky and clod,
 And as the universe grew great
 He dreamed for it a greater God.

God in the centre of all things, God as the meaning of all things: not an angry or jealous God: not a God who is always looking for evil, but who is always looking for love: not a God who has to be cajoled, propitiated, sought, but a God who is always seeking—the God who was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself. A great God, a near God, a friendly God: a God whose altars are as much in street and office and nursery and kitchen

as in the sanctuary—the God who is the best of all that you mean by Father, and infinitely more: the God who is like Jesus—the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

Dean Inge has said somewhere that the main trouble with traditional theology is that it is a pre-Copernican system trying to equate itself with a Newtonian universe. The God of the Athanasian Creed, and Calvin's God, is the God of a geocentric universe. They belong to the same order, superseded by Christ—whose God was 'Spirit,' and, therefore, in no way limited by intellectual conceptions. Jesus was 'timeless,' and so was His God.

Here is the true and unchallengeable missionary motive. To China, to India, to Africa, to all men black and white beneath the sun, this is the secret of life, this is the one solution of the problem of the ages—of your infinite needs and of the infinite stars alike—your Father, 'Our Father.'

4. But now—the way of the Kingdom. The Kingdom of God is within you. In other words, it is primarily not institutional, but personal: and it is only safe as an institution as it is kept supremely personal—experiential—within you: outward only incidentally, but essentially inward—a matter not of creed, but of experience.

Except a man be born again, or 'from above'—that is, have his life recentred by the Father—he cannot see the Kingdom of God. He can't see the Kingdom, in fine, until God is his Father. To have an earthly father, that is to be born. Surely the analogy makes it clear that to have a Heavenly Father is to be born again: to be born 'from above.' That is the vital Christian secret. That is the greatest thing that can ever happen to us—the acceptance of no mere theological formula or ecclesiastical tradition—but an experience, deep, rich, transforming, converting. Life begins again, with a new centre and a new circumference. But that is not all. Born again 'within'—changed towards God—we see for the first time truly 'the Kingdom of God,' which, at first at all events, can only be seen from within. We see, as with the clearness of an immediate revelation, that God cannot be Father for us without being Father of all men. 'The Kingdom of God' is the realm where the Father is supreme.¹

¹ H. E. Brierley, *Life Indeed*, 128.

Great Attacks on Christianity.

Tom Paine's 'Age of Reason.'

BY HERBERT G. WOOD, SELLY OAK, BIRMINGHAM.

OF all the attacks on Christianity that seemed most formidable at the time of their launching, perhaps Tom Paine's *Age of Reason* appears in retrospect to be most laughable. Those who are no longer shocked by the book can hardly fail to be amused by it. Time has but matured and brought out the full flavour of the charming self-confidence which inspires the work of this vigorous and progressive pamphleteer.

In the admirable introduction which he contributes to the R.P.A. reprint of the *Age of Reason*, the Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson recognizes a certain tendency to self-praise as the one noticeable weak point in Tom Paine's character. But he holds, rightly, that this trait 'leans to virtue's side, as it clearly connects with his absolute frankness and straightforwardness.' At the same time, it is not possible to read without a smile the self-complacent ending to the first appendix in the *Age of Reason*. Tom Paine, having outlined a sensible view as to the future state, concludes: 'This is my opinion. It is consistent with my idea of God's justice and with the reason that God has given me: *and I gratefully know He has given me a large share of that divine gift*' (Italics mine,¹ p. 123, R.P.A. reprint).

Mr. Robertson urges that 'similar self-esteem is common enough, but habits of diplomacy develop the saving grace of mock modesty.' Perhaps Mr. Robertson is inclined to regard 'mock' as a perpetual epithet attaching to 'modesty' as closely as 'pius' to Æneas, but it is certain that if Tom Paine, while keeping clear of mock modesty, had only had a little of the real thing, he would not so frequently have overshot the mark in his criticism of the Bible. A modern reader is bound to be entertained by the astonishing naïveté of his judgments.

What, for instance, could be more naïve than the following delightful paragraph? 'When, in the first part of the *Age of Reason*, I called the creation the true revelation of God, *I did not know that any other person had expressed the same idea*. But I lately met with the writings of Dr. Congers Middleton, published the beginning of the last century, in which he expresses himself in the same manner with respect to the creation as I have done in the

Age of Reason' (p. 117). The candour with which he acknowledges the merit of Dr. Middleton is only exceeded by the ignorance which underlay his previous conceit of his own originality. He might have found the same idea in any of his Deistic predecessors, in the Stoics, in St. Paul, in the wisdom of Solomon, or in the Psalms. Equally naïve, though more excusable, is the judgment that regards the American and French Revolutions in which he had taken honourable part as the first serious contribution to the establishment of the universal right of conscience and of freedom of discussion (pp. 94-95).

The pages of Thomas Paine's pamphlets are further enlivened by blunders which would deserve a place in any representative collection of schoolboy howlers. Like the gifted author of 'By an Unknown Disciple' he enrols Luke in the ranks of the twelve apostles and treats the evangelist as an eyewitness—an honour which Luke himself expressly disclaims. But whereas in the memoirs of an unknown disciple, this is a casual slip of no importance, Tom Paine builds on his erroneous opinion an elaborate and singularly futile argument concerning the falsity of the traditions of the Resurrection appearances of Jesus (p. 75).² In the same spirit, he discovers a serious discrepancy between Matthew and Luke by identifying Herod the Great, King of Judæa, and Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, and to crown all, in reliance on this elementary confusion, darkly hints that priests and commentators have tried to distinguish between the two Herods to save the credit of the Evangelists! (p. 112).

It is not only in his blunders that Tom Paine resembles a schoolboy, but in his cheerful buffoonery which recalls nothing so much as schoolboy wit or undergraduate humour. When one is in the mood for it one can extract from Paine's pages the same kind of amusement as one derives from '1066 and all that.' Take, for example, this paragraph on angels (p. 95). There were 'no angels before the time of Abraham. We hear nothing of these winged gentlemen till more than two thousand years, according to the Bible chronology, from the

² Cf. p. 72, where Mark is also numbered with the apostles.

¹ Italics mine throughout.

time they say the heavens, the earth and all therein, were made. After this, they hop about as thick as birds in a grove. The first we hear of pays his addresses to Hagar in the wilderness; then three of them visit Sarah; another wrestles a fall with Jacob: and these birds of passage, having found their way to earth and back, are continually coming and going.' If one realizes that this facetious account of angelic appearances is about as relevant to the understanding of Jewish angelology as the account in '1066 and all that' of Gladstone as the inventor of the Gladstone bag is to an appreciation of the Victorian statesman, one can relish Paine's sallies with a certain zest.

Mr. J. M. Robertson claims for the *Age of Reason* that 'it is still one of the best possible introductions, for plain people, to Biblical criticism, because it supplies what so many of the "higher" critics do not give—a strong lead to moral as well as to literary veracity.' In a strictly limited sense, as I shall show later, I should endorse this claim, but certainly Tom Paine is far from being a good guide to the literary criticism of the Bible, in any adequate sense of the term 'literary.' I do not know exactly what Mr. Robertson means by literary veracity as contrasted with moral veracity, but I should say unhesitatingly that if literary veracity has any connexion with the appreciation of literature, then Paine was singularly deficient in this particular. He does not show anywhere the least understanding of the literary genius of the Bible. He would not have wished to emulate, and he was certainly incapable of emulating, Sir James G. Frazer in editing a volume of 'Passages from the Bible selected for their Literary Beauty.' Paine's powers as a literary critic may be fairly estimated from the following *obiter dicta*. 'I come to the Book of Ruth—an idle, bungling story foolishly told, nobody knows by whom, about a strolling country girl creeping slyly to bed to her cousin, Boaz. Pretty stuff, indeed, to be called the word of God! It is, however, one of the best books in the Bible, for it is free from murder and rapine' (p. 46). On this verdict, we might give Paine credit for moral veracity, and bemoan his entire lack of literary veracity. The only parts of the Bible which Tom Paine admired were Proverbs and the Book of Job, and his anti-Semitic prejudice led him to attribute them to Gentile origin. Of Agur's prayer in the thirtieth chapter of Proverbs, he says, it is 'the *only* sensible, well-conceived, and well-expressed prayer in the Bible.' He thinks it must be taken from the Gentiles, for 'the Jews never prayed but when they were in trouble, and never

for anything but victory, vengeance, and riches' (p. 54 n.). Of the Book of Job, Paine says, 'it is the *only book of the Bible that can be read without indignation or disgust*' (p. 55). Of the traditions of the Resurrection-appearances of Jesus, Paine writes: 'Any person who could tell a story of an apparition or of a man's walking, could have made such books, *for the story is most wretchedly told*' (p. 80). Longinus cited 'God said, "Let there be light," and there was light,' as an example of the sublime. But to Tom Paine it suggests a conjurer saying 'Presto! be gone' to his cups and balls. '*It is a puerile and pitiful idea to suppose the Almighty to say, Let there be light!*' (p. 89 n.). Such judgments do not inspire in the reader any respect for Paine's capacity as a literary critic. They only move one to mirth. If emancipation from what Mr. Robertson calls the 'hebetude of reverence' enables one to say quite freely what one thinks about the Bible, it will not apparently guarantee that what one thinks about the Bible as literature will be worth saying. In short, as a literary critic, Tom Paine was as blind as a bat, and perhaps this was only to be expected from a man the natural bent of whose mind was to science, and who 'rather repressed than encouraged' any talent he had for poetry, 'as leading too much into the field of imagination.' If he had cultivated his imagination a little more, his common-sense judgment, of which he was so proud, would not have been so frequently and so egregiously at fault.

It would not, however, be fair at this time of day to commend the *Age of Reason* as light literature for the leisure hour. Tom Paine was in dead earnest, and the first part of the work was written when he lay in prison during the Terror, and might easily have been his last message to his fellows. It summed up what he felt he most wanted to say, in the presence of death. Anything that a man writes in that shadow must be treated with respect. Then again, his essay was received with such abuse and his memory has been assailed with such slander from those who thus sought to defend the faith, that Christian thinkers should seek to be just and even generous to Tom Paine. It is true that Paine was asking for trouble. His work is saturated with the contempt, impatience, and intolerance so characteristic of the leaders of the eighteenth-century enlightenment.¹ What he said so finely of Burke's strictures on the French Revolution applies in a measure to his own criticism of the Christian Church. With his eye on a certain purple

¹ On this point, see some excellent observations in J. Black, *The Art of History*, pp. 27, 28.

patch about Marie Antoinette, he said of Burke, 'He pitied the plumage, and forgot the dying bird.' In somewhat parallel fashion, Paine saw in the Church only a self-seeking hypocritical priesthood, and he forgot the simple, devout believers whose feelings he heedlessly outraged. Yet nothing excuses either the meanness or the falsity of the attempts to blacken Paine's character and to subject him to petty persecution. It is time we asked not only what society, but also what the Church, owes to the courage and frankness of Tom Paine.

To begin with, it is clear that the attack on orthodox Christianity was in no small measure justified and overdue. The leaders of the Enlightenment had good ground for regarding the Catholic Church in France, and to a less degree the Establishment in England, as bulwarks of obscurantism, as foci of insincerity, as hindrances to political and intellectual freedom. If they were wrong in attributing all corruption of human nature to governments and priesthoods rather than to original sin, there was at least a black account outstanding against reactionary governments and churches which bolstered them up. Then again, Tom Paine was right in regarding the traditional view of the Bible as the inerrant, infallible word of God, as in itself a most serious obstacle to true religion, and to moral and intellectual progress. He was justified in pressing home the difficulties of this claim made for the Bible, with all the vigour at his command. Even as I write the word 'vigour,' I incline to reconsider and retract. No, he was not justified in talking of 'the trash the Church imposes upon the world in the word of God—the collection of lies and contradiction called the Holy Bible . . . the rubbish called revealed religion' (p. 95). This is the vigour of an ignorant and fanatical iconoclasm. But he was fundamentally right in many of the criticisms he passed on the orthodox view of the Bible and on the contents of the Bible itself.

The third part of his work is a critique of the old-fashioned argument from prophecy as it had developed from the first century onwards. It has so little relevance to any serious present-day discussion of the relation of the New Testament to the Old, that the whole discussion would be almost boring if it were not for Paine's vivacity and vigour. But if we ask why this section ceases to be of live interest to us, we must honestly say that it is because we are prepared now to concede Paine's point before he makes it. He was essentially right in denying the Messianic character of most of the Old Testament Scriptures which were cited in the

New as prophecies of the events of Christ's life on earth. The argument is no longer of any great significance, because the victory is so complete. The old type of Christian evidence from the fulfilment of prophecy no longer counts, and the discussion of the underlying real issues of the subject proceeds on other lines. But we owe it to Paine that he exposed so forcibly the failure of the old orthodox appeal to prophecy.

While the main interest of the *Age of Reason* is necessarily historical, there is something to be said for Mr. Robertson's commendation of the book as an introduction to Bible criticism for plain people. Tom Paine is indeed as limited in historical criticism as he is perverse in literary judgment. Here, for example, is what he has to say about demon-possession and exorcism. 'This affair of people being possessed with devils and of casting them out, was the fable of the day when the New Testament was written. *It had no existence at any other time.* The books of the Old Testament mention no such thing: *the people of the present day know of no such thing: nor does the history of any people or country speak of such a thing*' (p. 103). The only explanation of such unwarranted assertions is that which Dr. Johnson honestly gave to a lady who challenged the definition in his dictionary of the word 'pancreas': 'Ignorance, Madam, sheer ignorance.' Plain people who look to Thomas Paine for an introduction to Biblical criticism ought to be warned that they are in the hands of a very ignorant guide. Perhaps the prejudice of his Quaker father against the study of a dead language like Latin was not such an unmixed blessing as Tom Paine supposed. Had he learnt Latin, he might have known more of the actual background to early Christianity.

But it is precisely because he has no special knowledge and relies only on his shrewd common sense, that Paine's running commentary on the books of the Bible in Part II. of the *Age of Reason* is so valuable. He points out to the plain person exactly those moral defects and historical difficulties in the Biblical narratives which the plain man could and should see for himself if he were not inhibited from using his ordinary intelligence by a mistaken reverence for Holy Writ. In this sense, I believe Mr. Robertson is perfectly right in commending the *Age of Reason* as the best possible introduction to Biblical criticism for plain people.

Beyond this, there is something tonic and anti-septic, something robust and manly, in all that Tom Paine wrote. It would be worth while to read and re-read the *Age of Reason*, if only to face the

challenge of such sentiments as this: 'It is necessary to the happiness of man that he be mentally faithful to himself. Infidelity does not consist in believing or in disbelieving: it consists in professing to believe what he does not believe' (p. 1). This sentence has in it the same moral stringency as marks John Morley, 'On Compromise.' Or take one further example: 'I believe that any system of religion that has anything in it that shocks the mind of a child cannot be a true system' (p. 22). This perhaps has a dangerous ambiguity in it, but it provokes thought and brings Paine nearer in spirit to the Master who warned us against putting stumbling-blocks in the way of little ones, than many of that Master's professed followers were and are.

Yet, after all, Tom Paine's main challenge to the Church to substitute Deism as the sum and substance of true religion for Christianity as an essentially historical revelation was fundamentally mistaken and was deservedly turned down. He was engaged in the pursuit of that will-'o'-the-wisp, religion without revelation in history. Julian Huxley and others are now hot on the same scent. They might do worse than go back to the *Age of Reason* and consider why its appeal necessarily fell flat. It is impossible to restate here all the difficulties that beset Tom Paine's form of theism

whether from the rationalist or the religious side. But emphatically from the Christian end, God is sought and found in the chances and changes of human history; in fact, just where the natural scientist and the rationalist are least willing to look for Him. Tom Paine criticised impatiently and superficially but not without reason the current orthodox doctrine of the plan of salvation, and of the atonement through the death of Christ. He could see no revelation of God in the cross of Christ, 'The gloominess of the subject . . . is not suited to any man breathing the open air of creation.' (p. 15). He was quite content with a religion with no tragedy in it. God is a gentleman and all's right with the world. Yet he himself had been imprisoned through envy and treachery. He knew something of the moral failure of others, and if he had been more humble, he might have been more conscious of his own shortcomings. And if he had realized something more of all this, he might have seen a place for the cross in God's way of reconciling men to Himself. He might have seen expressed in it the call to repentance that we all need. The cross is indeed so strange and unexpected that common sense stumbled at it. 'This be far from thee, Lord!' But in this regard at least, Tertullian's *credo quia absurdum* is more profoundly rational than Tom Paine's common sense.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Varia.

PROFESSOR MEINHOLD has usefully followed up his well known 'Introduction to the Old Testament' by a volume¹ which, in a more popular fashion, expounds the attitude that an evangelical Christianity which accepts the methods and results of Old Testament criticism may properly adopt towards it, and defends it against attacks, conducted in an anti-Semitic spirit, which regard Jesus and most of what is best in the Old Testament as 'Arian' rather than Semitic. Meinhold argues that Jesus was a true Galilean Jew, and that only from the standpoint of the Old Testament can He be truly understood. More particularly he argues against

those who contend for a 'German' rather than a 'Judaic' religion, pointing out that this is to fall back into the very nationalism which they profess to be combating. The book is, in another aspect, a plea for the exercise of Christian freedom: the 'weaker brother' must be tenderly considered, but his view of the Old Testament must not be allowed to dominate the situation. The determinative factor must be the attitude of Jesus Himself, and Meinhold expounds with skill what that attitude was—a blend of reverence and criticism. We are the children of the Reformation, and Luther, whom Meinhold repeatedly alludes to with admiration, ushered in an era of emancipation. But we honour the Reformers best, he urges, not by resting in their conclusions but by working in their spirit.

The book, however, is even more constructive

¹ *Das Alte Testament und evangelisches Christentum*, von Professor Johannes Meinhold (Töpelmann, Giessen; geb. Mk.4.80; geb. Mk.6).

than polemical. It goes carefully through the Old Testament in its three great divisions, tracing the rise of the idea of what we may call canonicity, stating clearly the reasons for the modern position, and eliciting, with the appreciation of a master, the permanent value of the prophets and the Psalter; but it is no less frank in pointing out the superseded elements in the Old Testament—its occasionally lower morality and its cosmogony which is in no way binding on us. There is a fine plea for the earnest study of Hebrew on the part of students and pastors—the best translation is inadequate: he quotes Luther's word that the language is the sheath in which the sword of the spirit rests. The book is specially welcome as relating the Old Testament to the needs of the evangelical Christian who is perplexed by polemics on the one hand and by criticism on the other.

In a second volume ¹ Professor Gemser continues his study of the Wisdom Literature. This volume contains an exegetical exposition of Pr 25–31, Ec, and the Song, with an introduction to the two latter books. Like the first volume, this is distinguished by its emphasis upon the relation between the Wisdom Books of the Hebrews and those of the other nations of the ancient East, notably Babylon and Egypt; while, in the case of the Song, in addition to such contacts—as, for example, with the Ishtar-Tammuz ritual—account is taken of the modern love-songs of Syria and Palestine collected by Dalman and others; indeed, Gemser says that these are the best commentaries on the Song. His treatment of Ec is marked by fine sympathy. The writer of it he characterizes as a man of transparent sincerity, disappointed with the traditional explanations of life, and writing, to give relief to his own heart, rather for a group of kindred souls than for the public, a child of light, wandering in darkness. The book, which Gemser assigns to the last quarter of the third century B.C., appears to him to be influenced by the Greek spirit, but to betray no certain traces of Greek influence on the language. The history of the interpretation of

the Song is briefly traced through the centuries, and, while Gemser accepts the common view of the Book as a collection of wedding-songs, he thinks that some concession may be made to the allegorical interpretation, in view of the place that it has held in the Jewish and the Christian Church. The love which it celebrates, however, is a long remove from that of 1 Co 13, the graces extolled being physical rather than spiritual. The translation of all three books is accompanied by an excellent commentary.

Wilhelm Brandt's discussion ² of the idea of service, or ministry, in the New Testament, while a strictly historical investigation, is, and is meant to be, of value to all who are interested in the official or unofficial service of the Church to-day. All the words with the connotation of service, *διακονεῖν*, *δουλεῖν*, *λατρεύειν*, *λειτουργεῖν*, *ὑπηρετεῖν*, etc., are carefully discussed, and the New Testament discussion is preceded by an attractive sketch of the idea of service as it appears in Greece (especially in Plato and Aristotle) and in Judaism. The point is made that in Greece service has the *πόλις* rather than the brother in view, while the Jew, knowing himself to be the servant of *The Lord*, who is the Lord and Redeemer of *His people*, recognizes that he has therefore also an obligation to his brethren: in the Prophets and in the New Testament the idea of social service is rooted in religion, which sharpens the sense of obligation to the individual. The life, suffering and death of Jesus are all subsumed under the idea of ministry. This idea, with its characteristic expressions (for example, *θρησκεία* in James), is traced through the Epistles of Paul, Hebrews, Peter, James, and John, and then from the ethical aspect of service Brandt passes to the official, giving careful attention to all the relevant passages in Acts and the Epistles. He argues that in Ro 16⁴ the designation of Phœbe as a 'servant' of the Church has an official meaning, and that the 'women' of 1 Ti 3¹¹ are deaconesses. Not the least vital problem of Church organization is to secure that her official 'ministers' will minister in the spirit of Jesus.

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Glasgow.

¹ *Spreeken II, Prediger en Hooglied van Salomo*, door Dr. B. Gemser (Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij, Groningen; fl. 2.90.

² *Dienst und Dienen im Neuen Testament*, von Lic. Wilhelm Brandt (Bertelsmann, Gütersloh; Mk.6).

Entre Nous.

The Testament of Beauty.

IN Robert Bridges' *Testament of Beauty* we have an original creation; original, in the profound sense of its being a fresh *interpretation* of accepted truths, so convincing that it works a change in us. But such changes are not wrought or suffered in an idle hour, and further, there is a full-blown strangeness about Bridges' style and technique—at least for readers unfamiliar with his earlier writings—that is apt to baffle and dishearten, if not to irritate. So Mr. Nowell Charles Smith's little book, *Notes on the Testament of Beauty* (Milford; 5s. net), has a great opportunity, and Mr. Smith has made good use of it. He has taken this poem, and laid its greatness and its beauty bare. There is nothing else in all poetry just like the *Testament of Beauty*. 'Æsthetic has always been the Cinderella of philosophic studies.' And never until now has a poet given definite expression in ample space to an æsthetic theory of life. This is 'the first great didactic poem of æsthetic philosophy.'

Mr. Smith's object in writing this book is, as he himself says, 'explanation, not criticism,' and it loses nothing in value by this self-limitation. His explanation of the title is excellent. 'For a long time, while engaged upon his great poem, Robert Bridges used to speak of it as his D.H.N. (i.e. *De Hominum Natura*), with allusion to the famous philosophical poem of Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*. He could not find a title to his mind, until one day he came down to breakfast and announced that he had got it—the name was to be *The Testament of Beauty*. There is no doubt about the felicity of the title, which is itself a bit of poetry. . . . About the *precise* meaning of the phrase there is more doubt, as there is apt to be about such phrases. It is safe to say that there is a reference to the fact that the poem is the last will and testament, as it were, of the poet of over eighty years of age. With a full sense of responsibility he leaves to posterity this high and serious statement of his philosophy of life, his religious faith. And the purport of this statement is "of Beauty." It concerns Beauty; nay, more—and here comes in another stream of associations to make part of the meaning of the title—it is also the *testimony* of Beauty, the witness borne by Beauty to the truth that Reality is good, or, in the traditional language of Christianity, that God is Love.'

Though this is a philosophical poem, no textbook even can pretend that it is a systematic treatise. Bridges does indeed divide his work

into four books, the Introduction, Selfhood, Breed, and Ethick, but its unity is inward and personal and as wayward as the poet's mind.

The following lines from the Introduction are rightly held by Mr. Smith to strike the keynote of the whole poem:

Man's happiness, his flaunting honey'd flower of soul,

is his loving response to the wealth of Nature.

Beauty is the prime motif of all his excellence, his aim and peaceful purpose. . . .

Towards the end of the same section there is a very beautiful passage. In the tragic warfare which Reason still wages in human history, Bridges shows Christ Himself as involved in the swaying fortunes of the fight:

So it was when Jesus came in his gentleness
With his Divine compassion and great Gospel of Peace,
men hailed him WORD OF GOD, and in the title of Christ

crown'd him with love beyond all earth-names of renown.

For he, wandering unarm'd save by the Spirit's flame,

in few years with few friends founded a world-empire

wider than Alexander's and more enduring;
since from his death it took its everlasting life.
His kingdom is God's kingdom, and his holy temple

not in Athens or Rome but in the heart of man.
They who understand not cannot forget, and they who keep not his commandment call him Master and Lord.

He preach'd once to the herd, but now calleth the wise,

and shall in his second Advent, that tarried long be glorified by the Greeks that come to the feast:
But the great Light shineth in great darkness, the seed

that fell by the wayside hath been trodden under foot,

that which fell on the Rock is nigh withered away.
While loud and louder thro' the dazed head of the

SPHINX

the old lion's voice roareth o'er all the lands.

In Book II., 'Selfhood,' the poet sees, like Plato, the soul of man in the image of a charioteer and two horses. But for Bridges the charioteer is Reason, and the two horses are Selfhood and

Breed. In this section we have the element of selfhood traced upward from atom and molecule to the 'blind motherly attachment,' where he finds the spring of man's 'present affection and of all compassion,' and 'the emotion most inimical to war.' Here the poet, mounting up to the high individualism of motherhood, denounces the tendency of our time towards a materialistic communism:

the high goal of our great endeavour
is spiritual attainment, individual worth;
at all cost to be sought and at all cost pursued,
to be won at all cost, and at all cost assured;
not such material ease as might be attain'd for all
by cheap production and distribution of common
needs,
wer all life level'd down to where the lowest can
reach.

In a later section of the same book we have, says Mr. Smith, 'the very core of the poem, the *Testament of Beauty* in its briefest form':

What is beauty? saith my sufferings then. I answer the lover and poet in my loose alexandrines:
Beauty is the highest of all these occult influences,
the quality of appearances that thru' the sense
wakeneth spiritual emotion in the mind of man:
And Art, as it createth new forms of beauty,
awakeneth new ideas that advance the spirit
in the life of Reason to the wisdom of God.

Book III. on 'Breed' is perhaps the most difficult of all the sections of the poem, but Mr. Smith's notes are full of illumination. The subject, wider than the title indicates, is the love of men and women, in all its aspects; and in many a richly embroidered passage the function of beauty in relation to 'Breed' is expounded, and how man learned in beauty to transfigure love.

Book IV. treats of

that science, call'd Ethick, dealing with the skill
and manage of the charioteer in Plato's myth,—
that is Reason. This Ethick, Bridges apparently
regards as a stage in the development of man,
necessary, as Mr. Smith puts it, without any criticism
of the validity of the poet's thought, 'because,
even though Beauty does dawn upon many human
souls in childhood, its influence is too evanescent
to prevent the instincts returning to their "old
animal ruts," unless the individual is fortunate both
in disposition and environment until Reason has
matured and become disciplined and enabled to
order the instincts and emotions.' But is not
Ethick itself charged with Reason?

Finally, Mr. Smith's notes on the spelling, punctuation, verse, and diction of the poem are most valuable and convincing, and have an added spice of humour, as in his note on the punctuation. 'All is deliberate, nothing slipshod; but he seems sometimes wayward, and sometimes inconsistent. As, however, obscurity very rarely, if ever, arises from either of these causes, and as my experience seems to show that few people pay much attention to punctuation, there is no need to discuss the matter here.'

Forbearance.

Messrs. Allen & Unwin have published a small Devotional Anthology, *Inner Light* (3s. 6d. net). It is sufficient to say that it has been prepared by the following members of the Society of Friends: M. Catherine Albright, Dorothy Cadbury, George Cadbury, Ernest Dodgshun, Frederick J. Gillman, and H. Winifred Sturge. There is a foreword by Professor H. G. Wood. 'For those,' he says, 'who still prefer to keep to the Bible, and the Bible only, help may be found in such admirable arrangements and selections as *Highways of the Spirit* and *Two-Minute Bible Readings*, both published by the Student Christian Movement. But many will feel the need of something different. We want Bible passages, but we want also commentary in the broad sense of the term, and application to the circumstances of our modern life.' There are not many anecdotes in the Anthology. This one is impressive. What is its source? 'Stanton, who was Secretary for War under Abraham Lincoln, on one occasion was very angry because an officer had failed to carry out an order, either through disobedience, or from not understanding it. "I believe I'll sit down," he said, "and give that man a piece of my mind." "Do so," said Lincoln, "write it now while you have it on your mind. Make it sharp. Cut him up." Stanton followed Lincoln's advice with alacrity. He wrote a most pungent and exceedingly candid rebuke, and he read it to Lincoln, who said, "That's right, that's a good one." "Whom can I send it by?" Stanton wondered aloud. "Send it!" said Lincoln. "Send it! Why, don't send it at all. Tear it up. You've freed your mind on the subject, and that's all that is necessary. Tear it up. You should never want to send such letters. I never do."'

Printed by MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to THE EDITOR, Kings Gate, Aberdeen, Scotland.